From Bull Run to Chancellorsville

Newton Martin Curtis

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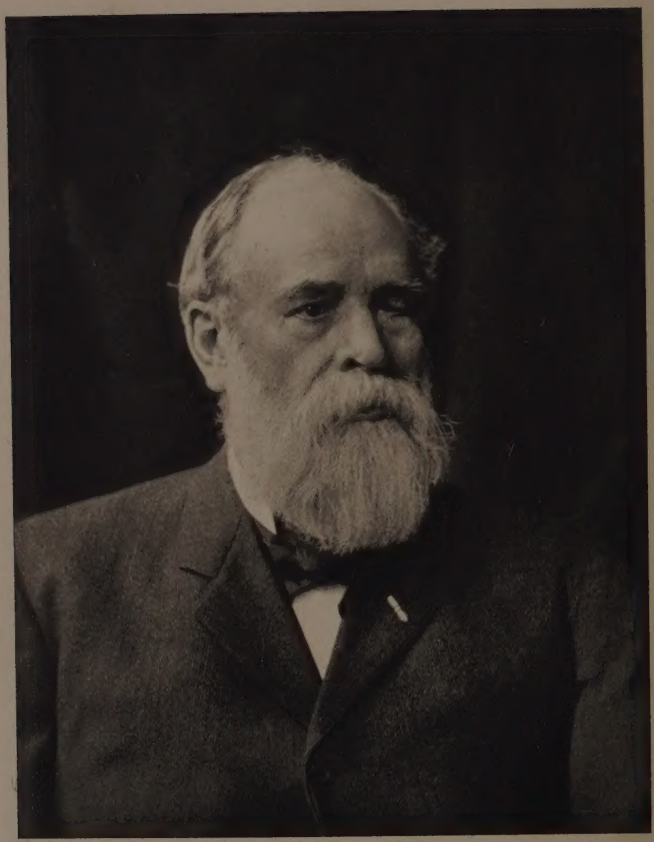

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FROM BULL RUN TO CHANCELLORSVILLE

The Story of the Sixteenth New York Infantry together with Personal Reminiscences

By

NEWTON MARTIN CURTIS, LL.D.

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL U. S. VOLS.

"Our Federal Union; it must be preserved"

"Forsan et haec olim meminisse juvabit"

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
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TO THE

Noble Women

WHO GAVE THEIR HUSBANDS AND SONS TO THE ARMY FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE UNION THIS VOLUME IS GRATEFULLY DEDICATED.

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PREFACE

MY intention had been to tell the story of my first regiment, the Sixteenth New York Infantry Volunteers, in the Civil War; but the collection of material for that purpose brought out so much, that I determined to include the other military organizations from Northern New York which, for any portion of the two years' term of the Sixteenth, formed part of the Army of the Potomac. Hence mention is made of the Eighteenth, the Thirty-fourth, the Sixtieth, the Ninety-second, the Ninety-sixth and Ninety-eighth Infantry regiments, of Captain Riley Johnson's Company K, Sixth New York Cavalry, and of Captain Thomas W. Osborn's Battery D, First New York Light Artillery; together with some account of the battles of Bull Run, West Point, Fair Oaks, Gaines' Mill, Savage's Station, Glendale, Crampton's Pass, Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, and Salem Heights, in which one or more of these commands participated. The narrative is based on my personal experience, on the official reports, and on the statements and writings of officers and prominent participators on both sides of the struggle.

In tracing the operations of corps, and the movements of minor organizations, in reviewing battles, and in characterizing commanders, I have endeavored to give due credit for successes, and to place the responsibility for defeats where it belongs. Above all, my purpose has been to commemorate the devotion, the valor, and the endurance of the men of both armies. The unanimity with which the Confederacy was supported shows that its uprising was not the outgrowth of the personal ambition of any man,

or the clever work of a few designing ones. The underlying cause, in my opinion, was not primarily the slavery question, but may be traced to the fiscal policy established by the Tariff Act of 1828, whose author, Silas Wright, was the Representative in Congress from Northern New York. The war established the principle that, from the adoption of the Constitution, the nation has been made up of "indestructible states of an unbroken union." Fortunately the contest continued until the last cartridge had been expended and the last ration had been eaten by those men who had striven for State sovereignty. Then came the splendid opportunity for the Federal forces to signalize their triumph by magnanimity and generous treatment, and for the Confederates to respond by a renewal of loyalty to the old flag, which now after forty years nothing can impair.

The right of the Southern States to withdraw is not discussed in this volume. My opinion is indicated by the fact that I volunteered "to preserve the Union" on the day that President Lincoln issued his proclamation calling for seventy-five thousand troops "to recover the property of the United States, forcibly seized, and to enforce the laws," and that I remained on active duty in the army until hostilities had ceased throughout the entire borders of the Republic.

The first sentiment on the title page, "Our Federal Union; it must be preserved" (President Jackson's toast at the Jefferson dinner), expresses the universal feeling of the people of Northern New York, and the sole purpose of all who went forth to war. The second sentiment, "*Forsan et haec olim meminisse juvabit*" (It may perhaps in after years delight you to remember these hardships), is from the concluding words of Æneas, spoken at the first "Camp Fire" of which we have any record in history or romance. As Virgil put these words of consolation into the mouth of his hero, who passed through many perils and much hardship

to found the Roman Empire, so we Americans, who passed through the Civil War and carried it to the final conclusion which laid the enduring foundation of our nation, may well delight ourselves in remembering the hardships through which this splendid achievement was won.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My grateful acknowledgments are due to Mrs. Joseph Howland and Mrs. Joel J. Seaver for placing at my disposal the Regimental Records of the Sixteenth Volunteers, and the correspondence which passed between Colonels Davies, Howland and Seaver and their superior officers; to Mrs. George B. Winslow for the letters of her brother, General Albert M. Barney, and to Miss Ellen I. Parker for those of her father, Captain George Parker; to Brigadier-General John C. Gilmore; Colonels Franklin Palmer, and William H. Walling; Captains William L. Best, Isaac T. Merry, W. R. Helm; Corporal Alonzo R. Fuller; Private Riley E. Wilkins, all of the Sixteenth; to Colonel Richard C. Shannon, Fifth Maine, of General Slocum's staff; Colonel E. W. Guindon, of General Slocum's staff; the Second Auditor of the Treasury; the Commissioner of Pensions; General Phisterer, Assistant Adjutant-General of the State of New York: to The Century Company, and Charles Scribner's Sons, for permission to copy from their publications; and to Colonel William F. Fox, for the use of his publications. If there were space, I would be glad to insert the names of more than twenty-five hundred soldiers, their relatives and friends, who have aided me in collecting information relating to the services of the members of the Sixteenth, the dates of the death of those who have died since the War, and the residences of the survivors.

N. M. C.

OGDENSBURG, N.Y., March, 1906.

CONTENTS

The number of the volume of the War of the Rebellion Records containing the official reports of the operations treated of in certain chapters is given at the head of such chapters in the table of contents.

PAGE

CHAPTER I

SECESSION

Confederate government.—Firing on the Flag.—President Lincoln calls for troops.—War meetings in Ogdensburg.—Depeyster.—Potsdam.—Gouverneur.—Stockholm.—Plattsburgh.—Chazy.—Malone.—Departure of companies for Albany 1–17

CHAPTER II

ORGANIZATION OF THE SIXTEENTH

Advice of political leaders rejected.—Major Delafield's record mendations adopted.—Irritation caused thereby.—Members of officers' caucus pledged to secrecy.—Pledge violated.—Exclusion.—Election of Field Officers.—Appointment announced in General Orders.—Roman Catholic Priest invited to company quarters.—The Priest's later prominence.—Mustered into the United States service.—The Field and Staff.—Two men refuse to be mustered and what followed. 18–25

CHAPTER III

PRELIMINARY INSTRUCTION IN THE ART OF WAR

Ludicrous manœuvres.—An old-time requisition.—Going into camp.—Rev. L. Merrill Miller.—Paid for State service.—Review by Governor Morgan.—"A howling success."—March to Albany and embark for New York City.—March to Washington Square.—Colors presented to the regiment in behalf of Mrs. Howland.—Refreshments.—Journey to

PAGE

Washington.—Marching through Baltimore.—Music in Cartridge boxes.—Camp Woolsey.—Reviewed by President Lincoln.—Target practice.—By steamer to Alexandria.—Making camp in the dark.—Mishaps.—Reconnaissance to Mount Vernon.—"Return slaves and respect private property."—Camp Vernon.—Extracts from Letters of a family . 26–37

CHAPTER IV

"On to Richmond"

[W. R. vol. II.]

Encamp at Annandale.—Skirmish with the Fifth Alabama.—Camp at Centreville.—Battle of Blackburn's Ford.—Exploits of a bee hunter from the Adirondacks.—Battle of Bull Run.—Skirmishing with the Sixth Alabama.—Jones's Brigade repulsed by the Artillery.—Recalled to Centreville.—Main fighting done by the right wing.—Meritorious conduct of officers who later fought at Fort Fisher.—Miss Mason visits our outposts and reports to General Ewell.—General Gordon's account of it.—Private Rodden returns to camp with the beef cattle of Davies' Brigade.—McDowell's campaign reviewed 38–51

CHAPTER V

Making a Regiment

Colonel W. B. Franklin.—Passes to Washington limited.—Why a refusal was reconsidered.—Women forbidden camp under penalty of death.—Colonel's wife admitted notwithstanding.—Disobedient officer invited to dine instead of being shot.—General Davies' death.—"The books are posted."—Term of enlistment settled 52–59

CHAPTER VI

In Old Virginia

Reorganization of the Brigade.—Military Execution.—Reviewed by General McClellan.—George Mason of Spring Bank.—Pohick Church.—Irreconcilable difference between George Mason of Gunston Hall and George Washington of Mount Vernon.—The old church in 1837 and 1861.—Officers on recruiting service.—Fairfax Street Hospital.—Major John Newton plans Fort Lyon.—In charge of details building it.—A chaplain's demand for whiskey ration.—Brigadier-General H. W. Slocum assumes command of the brigade.—Ex-

PAGE

pedition to Pohick Church.—Severe orders against foraging.—Protests and arrests.—Sixteenth moves camp.—Franklin's division 60–73

CHAPTER VII

WINTER QUARTERS

Instructions in Tactics and Army Regulations.—Captain Stetson repeats commands.—Educated officers in Franklin's division.—Adjutant Bicknell's description of a good soldier.—A soldier who doubted his captain's courage.—Army reviewed at Bailey's Cross Roads.—Election of major.—Another execution.—Chaplain Millar.—Efforts to abolish profanity.—Erroneous opinion as to military men.—Welcoming the New Year 74–87

CHAPTER VIII

MARCHES PRELIMINARY TO THE CAMPAIGN OF 1862

Fairfax Seminary Hospital.—Promotion of Colonel Davies and Captain Howland.—"Useless to instruct tall officers."—First Division, First Army Corps.—March to Fairfax and return.—Catlett's Station.—Apple blossoms and snow falling.—"May burn split timber, but not rails."—Captain Parker's letters.—Embark for the Peninsula.—Colonel Howland's letters.—Debark at head of York River 88–95

CHAPTER IX

BATTLE OF WEST POINT, VIRGINIA

[W. R. VOL. XI.]

Presentiments.—Companies F and G resist Hood's Brigade.—Summary treatment.—Cause of it learned in 1869.—A Mason in distress.—Extract from Hood's "Advance and Retreat."—A Texan saved Hood by killing Corporal Love 96–103

CHAPTER X

FROM THE PAMUNKEY TO THE CHICKAHOMINY

[W. R. VOL. XI.]

McClellan commends conduct in battle.—White House.—Organization of Fifth and Sixth Corps.—March to the Chickahominy.—Fourth Corps crosses the River.—Mechanicsville.—Captain John Smith and Pocahontas.—Captain Gibson and Dr. Gaines's Mill.—A recruit who wished he was a baby.

PAGE

—Unfavorable position of the Army.—Secretary of War's order.—Battle of Fair Oaks.—Casualties.—Barney's letter.—Osborn's Battery.—Slocum's Division crosses the Chickahominy 104–116

CHAPTER XI

THE BATTLE OF GAINES'S MILL

[W. R. VOL. XI.]

Ordered to extend right wing north of Richmond.—Stanton's dispatch of June 26.—Extract from Dabney's Life of Stonewall Jackson.—McClellan's order to quartermaster at White House.—Slocum's Division goes to the support of Porter.—Twentieth North Carolina captures section of Edwards's Battery.—Porter's account of its recapture by the Sixteenth.—Comte de Paris's reference to the incident.—Conduct of the North Carolina regiment recalls the praise paid their grandfathers.—Member of North Carolina regiment writes of the incident forty-two years after the battle.—Experiences on the firing line.—Colonel Howland and his war horse "Old Scott."—Casualties.—Extract from "War Pictures from the South" 117–129

CHAPTER XII

FROM THE CHICKAHOMINY TO THE JAMES

[W. R. VOL. XI.]

Battles of Garnett's Farm, Peach Orchard and Savage's Station.—Leaving the wounded at Savage's Station.—Corporal Durkee's letter.—Surgeon Stevens's account of destruction of munitions and supplies.—Battle of White Oak Swamp.—Destruction of pontoon train by Captain McMahon and the pioneer corps of the Fifth Vermont.—Difficulty of protecting poultry under artillery fire.—Battle of Glendale.—Firing line incidents.—Bicknell's account of the withdrawal of the brigade from a position of which the enemy held three sides.—The army on the bank of the James.—Extract from McClellan's "Own Story" 130–141

CHAPTER XIII

HARRISON'S LANDING

The Sixteenth's losses in change of base.—Seaver's letter to Colonel Howland.—Returned from hospital.—President Lin-

PAGE

coln visits the army.—Harrison Bar letter.—"Would outflank your company at both ends."—Colonel rejoins the regiment.—Slocum's promotion.—A promotion which did not materialize.—Army withdrawn from the Peninsula on advice of General Halleck.—What it cost to return it later to this same place 142–151

CHAPTER XIV

LEAVING THE PENINSULA

Crossing the Chickahominy on pontoon bridge.—Williamsburg.—Colonial capital.—College of William and Mary.—The *Alma Mater* of great men.—Phi Beta Kappa.—First insane asylum in America.—First steps taken leading to independence.—Washington and Jefferson as suitors.—Yorktown.—Surrender of the British flags in 1781 recalled by Ensign Wilson's grandson, adjutant of the Sixteenth.—Newport News to Alexandria.—Sixteenth's losses on the Peninsula 152–156

CHAPTER XV

THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC BROKEN UP

Third and Fifth Corps join Pope.—Sixth Corps advances to Centreville.—Taylor's Brigade engaged.—Slocum's division checks retreat.—Retires to Centreville.—Ovation to General Kearny.—Kearny killed.—Action and comments of Generals R. E. Lee, Longstreet and Fitzhugh Lee.—General Hawkes's account of Kearny's death.—Kearny in Northern New York.—Correspondence between Halleck and McClellan.—President Lincoln assigns McClellan to command the defences of the capital 157–166

CHAPTER XVI

THE MARYLAND CAMPAIGN INCLUDING THE BATTLE OF CRAMPTON'S PASS

[W. R. VOL. XIX.]

General Lee's plans and operations of his army until capture of Harper's Ferry.—General McClellan pursued the enemy in three columns.—Movements of the Sixth Corps.—Battle of Turner's Pass fought by the First and Ninth Corps.—Battle of Crampton's Pass fought by the Sixth Corps.—Seaver's letter to Colonel Howland.—Walling's letter.—Captains Parker, Curtis and Lieutenant Barney rejoin the regiment from hospital.—Ambulance corps reorganized.—Captain

PAGE

Hopkins's Letter.—Visit to Confederate Hospital.—Interviewed a soldier from North Carolina and one from Georgia.—Resemblance to a namesake.—Marching to Battle of Antietam 167–178

CHAPTER XVII

THE BATTLE OF ANTIETAM

[W. R. VOL. XIX.]

General Lee places his forces in position at Sharpsburg.—The order in which McClellan's army corps came to the field at Antietam.—Major Joseph M. Knap.—Burnside's delay at Antietam Bridge.—Charge of the Sixth Corps prevented by protest of Sumner.—The hesitation of Burnside and failure to send the Sixth Corps forward turned what might have been a victory into a drawn battle.—Casualties.—Colonel W. B. Goodrich.—General George S. Greene.—Captain L. L. Buck 179–191

CHAPTER XVIII

ON THE BATTLEFIELD AT NIGHT

The picket line.—The resting soldiers.—Carrying wounded to the surgeons.—A Delawarean brought in.—Incident recalled twenty years after.—The widow's son.—Regretted he could not die under the flag he fought for.—A lesson in toleration.—Father McAtee.—Under a blanket with a dead Confederate.—Lieutenant Colonel Stetson's noble conduct.—Major Palmer's letter to Judge Stetson 192–197

CHAPTER XIX

THE ARMY AT BAKERSVILLE

[W. R. VOL. XXI.]

Letters of Walling and Stone.—President Lincoln's visit.—Colonel Howland resigns.—His character and soldierly qualities.—Colonel Bartlett's promotion.—Last election in the Sixteenth.—Elections violate the principles of military system.—Father McAtee conducts religious services.—Opinions of a bigot.—Injustice of orders dropping wounded men.—Illustrated in case of Sergeant Winslow.—Author commissioned lieutenant colonel One Hundred and Forty-second New York.—Slocum promoted to the command of the Twelfth Corps.—Walling's

PAGE

letter describing march to Warrenton.—General McClellan superseded in command of the Army of the Potomac by General Burnside 198–216

CHAPTER XX

THE BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG

[W. R. VOL. XXI.]

Location of the army.—McClellan's opinion of its condition.—Burnside's plan of campaign disapproved by Halleck.—Another assented to by the President.—Further changes without approval of the President.—Three Grand Divisions organized.—March to Falmouth.—Belle Plain.—White Oak Church.—Burnside disapproves request of Hooker and Sumner to cross the Rappahannock.—Battle of Fredericksburg.—Burnside reports the condition of his army.—His attempts to engage the enemy and failures.—Assumed command reluctantly.—Did the best he could.—Failure not chargeable to subordinates 217–225

CHAPTER XXI

HOOKER IN COMMAND

[W. R. VOL. XXV.]

President Lincoln's letter.—Condition of the army.—Reorganization and salutary reforms.—Corps badges.—Submitted plans of campaign to the President.—Instructions to cavalry commander.—President reviews the army.—Hooker submits plan for campaign.—A soldier's equipments.—Operations delayed by rains.—The President's misgivings 226–232

CHAPTER XXII

THE BATTLE OF CHANCELLORSVILLE

[W. R. VOL. XXV.]

Advance of the cavalry.—Concentrating the Fifth, the Eleventh, the Twelfth Corps, and Pleasonton's Cavalry at Chancellorsville.—Hooker assumes command at Chancellorsville.—Issues orders to advance to Tabernacle Church.—When the troops were in sight of the position, ordered back.—Protest of corps commanders against withdrawal.—A good position abandoned for a bad one.—Awaits an attack.—Enemy march across his front for three hours.—Overwhelm his right wing.—One-half of his army fighting.—Other half awaiting orders

PAGE

to go in, which never were issued.—Firing line falls back for want of ammunition.—Retires the army to a new line.—Casualties 233–244

CHAPTER XXIII

The Battles of Marye's Heights and Salem Church

[W. R. VOL. XXV.]

Disposition of the Left Wing.—Two corps withdrawn and sent to the right wing.—Sixth Corps united south of the Rappahannock.—Sedgwick with the Sixth Corps ordered to join Hooker at Chancellorsville.—Drove Early's division from start to Marye's Heights.—Battle of Marye's Heights.—Capturing fortifications with the bayonet.—Advance to Salem Church vigorously opposed.—Battle of Salem Church.—Enemy greatly reinforced.—The enemy on three sides of the Sixth Corps.—Crosses the Rappahannock.—Captures.—Losses. 245–249

CHAPTER XXIV

The Chancellorsville Campaign reviewed

[W. R. VOL. XXV.]

Preliminary operations successfully carried out.—Change from an offensive to a defensive campaign.—The mistakes severally noted.—Not advancing at daylight.—Retiring from a good position.—Not fighting all his army on the 2nd and 3rd of May.—Remaining inactive while troops were sent from his front to overwhelm Sedgwick.—Recrossing the Rappahannock without fighting his army.—Leaving of General Butterfield at Falmouth.—Excellent work of Sedgwick and the Sixth Corps.—With Hooker's co-operation Lee's army might have been beaten.—Casualties.—Stonewall Jackson as a fighter.—Compared with John Paul Jones.—General Horace Porter.—President Roosevelt.—Stonewall Jackson's grandson at West Point.—Hooker's one mistake in a brilliant career.—One sentence of President Lincoln's letter to Hooker the most unfortunate of all his writings 250–262

CHAPTER XXV

Salem Heights. The Sixteenth's Last Battle

Two years' regiments from New York in the Army of the Potomac.—Much concern as to their willingness to fight on eve of muster out.—No doubt as to the prompt response of the

PAGE

Sixteenth.—Their desire to meet early antagonists.—The captured horse.—Splendid conduct of the regiment.—Chaplain Hall.—His character, courage and devotion.—Awarded a Medal of Honor.—Chaplains non-combatants. 263–267

CHAPTER XXVI

UNDER THE ENEMY'S FIRE

'How did you feel when going into battle?—Few think of death.—The last thing to think about.—No two men affected with same feelings.—Disturbing sensations at the opening of battle.—Stoic feelings in the fury of contest.—Men not brutalized in fierce struggle over flags or guns.—The worst position is to be under fire and not able to return it.—Few cowards in action.—Found among bullies and braggarts.—Self-respecting, modest men the bravest.—Presentiments.—Improvement in the implements of war.—Great effectiveness of modern arms.—Casualties in our Civil War the greatest recorded in history 268–273

CHAPTER XXVII

MEDICAL CARE AND HOSPITAL LIFE

Medical Department neglected by Congress.—United States Sanitary Commission.—*The Wilson Small.*—Commission staff.—First hospital chaplain.—Lieutenant Corbin's tribute to Mrs. Howland.—*The Knickerbocker.*—Miss Gilson.—Fairfax Street Hospital.—Doctor Robertson's letter to Mrs. Howland.—Chaplain Hopkins's visit.—Special care of the sick and wounded of the Sixteenth.—"Mortally Wounded."—Women nurses in army hospitals.—Mrs. Woolsey's instructions to a "would-be army nurse."—Surgical pretenders.—"The hospital a part of the battle field" 274–289

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE SIXTH CORPS

The Sixteenth its senior regiment.—The author's affection for its commanders.—Generals Franklin, Slocum, Kearny, Newton, Hancock, Brooks, Davidson, "Baldy" Smith, his services in saving the army from starvation and capture.—Generals Sedgwick, Wright, Torbert, Bartlett, David A. Russell.—Russell's heroic conduct when mortally wounded.—Meritorious conduct of Generals Bidwell, Burnham, Cobb, Jackson and Shaler.—Colonel Redfield Proctor the most dis-

PAGE

tinguished member of the Sixth Corps in Civil Life.—General Calvin E. Pratt.—An incident in his political life.—Generals McMahon, Arnold and Ayres.—Colonels Platt and Tomkins.—Surgeons O'Leary, Hamilton, Stevens and Housen.—Colonels Sturdevant, Scofield, Tolles and Major W. H. Daniels.—Heavy losses in battle.—Organizations named.—Three hundred fighting regiments.—Colonel W. F. Fox's tribute to the corps 290–301

CHAPTER XXIX

THE MUSTER OUT OF THE SIXTEENTH NEW YORK

The transferred men.—Promises to not observed.—Extracts from complimentary orders of brigade, division and corps commanders.—Respect and affection felt by the regiment for Colonel and Mrs. Howland.—Presentation of sword and Bible.—White Oak Church to Albany.—Reception by Governor Seymour.—Addresses.—Colonel Seaver's farewell order.—Members go home and re-enlist for the war . . . 302–313

CHAPTER XXX

MILITARY EFFICIENCY AND HOW TO PROMOTE IT

Members accounted for.—The efficient and the inefficient.—Losses compared with those of other regiments of the State, of the Union armies, Confederate, and of foreign armies.—Members accounted for forty-four years and ten months after muster into United States service.—Proportion taken to the firing line.—The age of efficiency.—Need of better medical care.—Prompt recognition of meritorious conduct essential to the highest efficiency 314–321

CHAPTER XXXI

THE ROSTER OF THE SIXTEENTH NEW YORK

Roster giving age, height and military record 322–361
Appendix A, Nominal List of Casualties 362–369
Appendix B, Civil Records 370–375
Index 377–383

PORTRAITS.

Major-General Newton Martin Curtis, *Frontispiece*

PAGE

Major-General Thomas A. Davies . . 22

Brigadier-General Joseph Howland . 90

Brigadier-General Joel J. Seaver . 210

From
Bull Run to Chancellorsville

CHAPTER I

SECESSION

FOLLOWING the secession of the seven States which united to form the Confederate States' Government, organized at Montgomery, Alabama, February 8, 1861, every fort, arsenal and other property of whatever kind, under the exclusive control of officers of the United States within the limit of said States, had been surrendered on demand of State or Confederate officials, until April 11th, when Major Anderson, commanding Fort Sumter in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, refused to strike his flag and abandon the fort.[1] In the early hours of Friday, the 12th of April, 1861, the first shot was fired upon the flag of the United States, floating above the ramparts of Fort Sumter, and the greatest internecine war recorded in history was begun. The bombardment continued for two days, when Major Anderson gave notice that he would, on the following day, salute his flag and withdraw his forces from the fort. On April 15th, the President issued his proclamation, commanding the persons composing the combination formed against the authority of the United States, to disperse,

[1] Fortress Monroe and Fort Pickens were the only forts within the seceding States, which were not surrendered during the war.

and to retire peaceably to their respective abodes within twenty days from that date. He called for seventy-five thousand militia of the several States to repress said combination, and to cause the laws to be duly executed, and summoned Congress to convene in extra session on the 4th of July. The Secretary of War, under an Act of Congress approved by Washington on February 28, 1795, requested the executives of the several States to detach from the militia of their States the quotas designated by him; that of New York was thirteen thousand two hundred and eighty officers and men. The legislature of New York was in session, and, although a concurrent resolution had been adopted, specifying the next day as that for final adjournment, this resolution was rescinded, and the military committees of the Assembly and of the Senate prepared that evening, and reported to each House the next morning, the bill which was enacted the same day (April 16, 1861), "Authorizing the enrolling and mustering into service of the state, for two years, unless sooner discharged, a number of volunteers not to exceed thirty thousand men; the said force to be in addition to the present military organizations of the state, and a part of the militia thereof."

On the 18th of April, Governor Morgan issued his proclamation calling for seventeen regiments of seven hundred and eighty men each, designating New York, Albany, and Elmira as places of rendezvous. On the 25th of April, the Governor issued a second proclamation, calling for twenty-one regiments, in addition to the seventeen called for on the 18th. Under these proclamations, thirty-eight regiments of infantry were organized between the 23rd day of April and the 11th day of June; the Fifteenth was subsequently changed to the Fifteenth Engineers, and the Nineteenth, to the Third Artillery. These, with other independent military organizations, consisting of regiments and battal-

ions of infantry, regiments of engineers, regiments and batteries of artillery, regiments and companies of cavalry, equalling in all three hundred full regiments, numbering four hundred thousand men, were furnished by the State of New York between the first call for troops and the close of the Civil War.

As soon as the telegraphic dispatches announced the fall of Fort Sumter, and that the President had called for seventy-five thousand troops with which to enforce the laws and to recover United States property, forcibly seized, the people of Northern New York, in advance of the action of the legislature, proceeded to take preliminary steps to organize companies for the Nation's defense.

War Meeting in Ogdensburg

The first war meeting was held in the streets of Ogdensburg, soon after the dispatch had been received announcing the capitulation of Fort Sumter. Mr. Henry R. James, editor of the Ogdensburg *Journal*, took the dispatch to the corner of Ford and Isabella Streets, mounted a dry-goods box, and read it to the people on the street. The news spread rapidly, and to those assembled Mr. James gave notice that enrolling papers were being printed at his office, and that all who wished to volunteer, to serve for six months in aiding the President in enforcing the laws, would be given an opportunity to sign their names to the roll. Persons who had come from the near-by towns for the transaction of business were requested to give notice that volunteers would be accepted until a company was organized. Mr. James stated that he would go at once to Depeyster and ask the people of that town to join in raising the proposed company at the earliest day. A number of men signed the roll promising to enlist for six months, but on the 19th,

when the copies of the Act of April 16th were received in Ogdensburg, Mr. James and a few others announced their inability to abandon their business for two years, and it was decided that no further steps to organize a company for six months' service would be taken. When the company proposed by Mr. James was abandoned, a new one, started by those willing to enlist for a term of two years, was organized and officers were elected, on Monday evening, April 22, 1861. A great impetus had been given to enlistment in Ogdensburg by David A. Nevin, who had returned home, on the day the first company was abandoned, from the Indian Territory, where he had been employed as a clerk in the office of an army quartermaster. Mr. Nevin was a native of St. Lawrence County, the son of a well-known resident of Ogdensburg, and his offer to go in command of the company was promptly accepted. He was unanimously elected Captain; Peter L. Van Ness, First Lieutenant; Charles L. Jones, Second Lieutenant; with a full complement of non-commissioned officers, musicians, and sixty-four privates, whose names appear in Company A roster, Sixteenth New York. At a meeting held the same evening, a committee was appointed, consisting of David C. Judson, Chairman, William C. Brown, Norman Sackrider, William J. Averell, and Ela N. Merriam, Secretary, to disburse $2,600 then raised for the benefit of the families of the volunteers. On April 24th, the company left by the Ogdensburg and Lake Champlain Railroad for Rouse Point, thence by steamer to Whitehall and by rail to Albany, where it arrived on the 25th, and was accepted the same day.

The company organized in Ogdensburg on the 22nd of April did not include all in that village, and in the vicinity, who wished to go to the war. Immediately after the completion of the first company, steps were taken to form another.

This company was soon filled, and selected the following officers: David L. Bartlett, Captain; Albert S. Seely, First Lieutenant; Horatio G. Goodno, Second Lieutenant; with a full complement of non-commissioned officers, musicians, and sixty-four privates, whose names can be found on the muster roll of Company K, Eighteenth New York. The company left Ogdensburg May 3rd, and arrived in Albany on the 4th.

War Meeting in Depeyster

Several Depeyster farmers were in Ogdensburg when the news of the surrender of Fort Sumter was received, and heard the announcement that Henry R. James would address a meeting in their town that evening, to ask their co-operation in raising a company under the call of the President. As they returned home, they spread the news, so that it reached all parts of the town. The meeting, held in the Methodist Church, was presided over by Captain Benjamin Eastman, an old line Whig, a Protectionist and an active Republican worker, one of the best informed and most respected men in the town. Prayer was offered by the pastor, Reverend Horace M. Danforth, and Mr. James was introduced. He gave a plain statement of the facts of the surrender of Fort Sumter, the call of the President for troops, and the steps taken in Ogdensburg to organize a company for six months' service; he then asked the young men of the town to join with them and raise the company to the maximum as soon as possible. He further stated that twelve or fourteen men would be received from Depeyster, and that it was doubtful if more than one company from the county would be required.

After Mr. James had spoken, several prominent citizens were called upon by the chairman, but none responded. Captain Eastman mistook their modest reluctance for want

of patriotism, and very vehemently expressed his regret that those who should speak at this time remained silent. Had he called for subscriptions for the prosecution of the war, they would have responded promptly and liberally; they were good contributors, but not talkers. The captain then said that he would like to hear from a young man who had the courage of his convictions, although his political convictions were all bad, and asked Martin Curtis to give his opinion as to what action should be taken at this crisis.

I said that patriotism was of no party, and regretted that the question of party politics should be raised when there was nothing to be considered but the preservation of the Union. I then advised that a regiment for the war be at once organized in St. Lawrence County. The last statement brought out the declaration that there would be no war if the slightest show of decisive action were made by the Administration, and that all that was required was to give the Administration moral support; hence one company from the county would be sufficient for that purpose. It was further stated that the South did not mean to precipitate war. To this I replied that the South had inaugurated what I believed would be a great war, one that would test the resources of the country as never before; and that if, in bringing it to a successful conclusion, the County of St. Lawrence was not called upon to furnish more than half a dozen regiments, I should be glad. How well this prediction, made April 15, 1861, was verified is shown in the number of men furnished by the county,—more than enough to fill *eight* regiments to the maximum of those organized under the first call.[1]

I gave notice that a meeting of those who were willing to aid in raising a company in Depeyster would be held in

[1] See page 176.

Mason's Tavern after the adjournment; the pastor was called upon, and he urged the organization of a regiment; at the next call he proved loyal to his counsel, volunteered, and was promoted to a captaincy in the Sixth New York Heavy Artillery. At the meeting held in Mason's Tavern that night, fifteen volunteered to go to the war.

A later meeting in Depeyster was addressed by James C. Spencer and Daniel Magone, two young and active democratic lawyers of Ogdensburg. On April 26th a meeting for organization was held, at which Captain Eastman presided; the Town Hall was filled, the centre seats being occupied by the volunteers. The chairman asked the company to name candidates and vote for the officers; Newton Martin Curtis was chosen Captain; John Snyder, First Lieutenant; William L. Best, Second Lieutenant; with a full complement of non-commissioned officers, musicians, and sixty-four privates, whose names will be found in Company G roster, Sixteenth New York. Soon after sunrise on May 2nd, the company met at the Town Hall with Captain Eastman in the chair. Miss Helen Tuttle presented to the company a purse containing four hundred dollars, from the women of Depeyster, in place of a flag which they had been disappointed in obtaining. The company proceeded to the village of Ogdensburg, where they formed at the Baldwin House, kept by a brother-in-law of Major-General John E. Wool, U. S. A., and, before being marched to the railroad station, were halted in front of Norman's hat store, where James C. Spencer, United States Attorney for the district, presented each member with a cap. These checked gingham caps were worn until the men were clothed by the State.

In passing the Judson Bank, on the way to the train, the Honorable David C. Judson, the man on whose motion Silas Wright was made secretary of the Democratic County Convention of St. Lawrence County, the first recognition he

received from that party, in which he exercised for the rest of his life a great and commanding influence, came out of the bank and gave me a handful of blank checks, with the request that I would fill them up if money should be needed for myself or for the company, with the assurance that they would be taken care of when presented to the bank. It happened in the progress of the war that this promise was tested to the amount of more than thirty thousand dollars in excess of my deposits. This was occasioned by the failure of a paymaster to accept the money paid to the members of my regiment for their services, for which I had given them checks on the Judson Bank to the amount above stated. It was two weeks after the giving of the checks before I was able to exchange the money, at Fort Monroe, for drafts on the Sub-Treasury at New York City, with which to reimburse Mr. Judson for the payment he had made on the checks presented to the bank.

Meanwhile the same patriotic impulse had roused the citizens of many other towns, and companies had been formed at Malone, at Plattsburgh and other centres. At Malone our train stopped for lunch, and the members of the company were the guests of the Honorable William A. Wheeler, President of the Ogdensburg and Lake Champlain Railroad Company, and Representative in Congress from the Clinton-Franklin district. Captain J. J. Seaver paraded his company, whose formation will be described a little further on, and gave three cheers as the train pulled out, promising to follow the next week. At Rouse Point a steamer was taken for Whitehall, touching at Plattsburgh, where Captain John L. Stetson with several of his newly enrolled company, later company E of the Sixteenth, came aboard and promised to follow the next day. From Whitehall the company proceeded by rail, arriving in Albany on the morning of May 3rd, and I applied to the Adjutant-

General of the State for quarters. When asked for authorization papers, I stated that I had none, except a letter from Major-General S. F. Judd, commanding the militia of Northern New York, under whose instructions the company had been formed and had proceeded to the capital. General Read said that General Judd had no authority to give such instructions and that the company could not be accepted. The interview ended by General Read's taking me to Governor Morgan, who expressed his regret that the company had come to Albany without orders or authorization from the Adjutant-General, and advised me to return home, as the companies, formed under the provisions of General Orders No. 13, were arriving faster than suitable quarters could be provided. I assured him that the company would not return home; if not accepted by the State, it would go on to Washington; and that, until the question was settled, they ought to be provided with quarters and provisions. Mayor Thatcher, who was in the Executive Chamber at the time, offered to give the company quarters in the City Hall. His friendly interest, together with the request of Dr. Socrates N. Sherman, Representative in Congress, and that of Attorney-General Charles G. Myers, both from St. Lawrence, doubtless did much to procure the orders of May 6th, authorizing N. Martin Curtis to organize a company of volunteers under the provisions of General Orders No. 13. This was accomplished as soon as the signatures of the men in the City Hall could be affixed to the enrollment papers. The next day, General John F. Rathbone, commanding the Albany rendezvous, inspected the company and presided at an election of officers, and on filing his return of the election with the Adjutant-General, the company was accepted, May 7th, with the same officers selected on April 26th.

Some amusing comments were made by those who saw the company march through the streets of Albany. The pro-

prietor of the Delavan House, who had the contract for feeding the volunteers, called the attention of a friend to the fact that the company had a dozen men over six feet, and that the Captain was half a foot taller, thin as a shingle, straight as an arrow, and, that, if his head were chalked, he would make a good billard cue. The average height of the members of the Sixteenth was about one inch above that of the regiments organized under the first call, and the Depeyster company was three quarters of an inch taller than the average height of the regiment.

War Meeting in Potsdam

Early on the morning of April 16th, Wilson Hopkins, George L. Eastman, John C. Gilmore, and John A. Vance met in the law office of Dart and Tappan, at Potsdam, and drew up a call for a mass meeting to be held in the Town Hall on the afternoon of the 17th. This call was printed and circulated, and at the hour designated the hall was filled. Judge Henry L. Knowles was made chairman. At the hour of meeting, the train arrived from the south, bringing among its passengers the Honorable Edwin A. Merritt, Member of Assembly from the second district of St. Lawrence, who had left Albany after the passage, on the 16th of April, of the act "To authorize the embodying and equipment of a volunteer militia, and to provide for the public defence." He brought a copy of the act with him, and was invited to address the meeting, and to inform his hearers of the purposes and wishes of the officials at the capital.

Other speakers also addressed the meeting, one of whom was James M. Pomeroy, who had come on the train with Mr. Merritt. He was not a resident of the county, but had spoken in the presidential campaign in 1860, and had relatives engaged in business at Potsdam. He was very elo-

quent and aroused great enthusiasm when he pointed to the national flag and asked, "who among these young men will go with me to uphold the honor and glory of our national emblem?" "I will!" said Horace H. Raymond, and he was followed by forty-seven others. A sum of $3,500 was raised and placed in the hands of a committee to be disbursed for the benefit of the families of those who volunteered.

The next meeting was held on the 19th, and the Honorable Edward W. Foster was made chairman. At this meeting a company was formed, and James M. Pomeroy was elected Captain; Wilson Hopkins, First Lieutenant; and George L. Eastman, Second Lieutenant; with a full complement of non-commissioned officers, musicians, and sixty-four privates, whose names appear on Company B roster, Sixteenth New York. On the 25th, the company was presented with a national flag and left for Albany, where it arrived on the 26th, and was accepted on the 30th of April. When Captain Pomeroy had selected, from the volunteers, a sufficient number to complete his company, it was found that there were enough men anxious to go to form another company, and steps to that end were immediately taken. John C. Gilmore was elected Captain; John A. Vance, First Lieutenant, and Joseph Holbrook, Second Lieutenant; with a full complement of non-commissioned officers, musicians, and sixty-four privates, whose names appear on Company F roster, Sixteenth New York. The company left for Albany on the 3rd, arrived on the 4th, and was accepted on the 7th of May.

War Meeting in Gouverneur

On the 18th of April, printed notices, announcing that a war meeting would be held that evening in Van Buren's Hall, signed by order of committee, were posted in the village

of Gouverneur. The hall was packed, and many were unable to gain admission; Mr. Charles Anthony was called to the chair, and stated that the meeting awaited a proposition from the committee. It then became known that Albert M. Barney and Charles M. Bowne had issued the call. Mr. Barney arose and presented the following pledge: "We, the undersigned, pledge to form a company of volunteers for active service, under the call of the President of the United States, and under the laws of the State of New York and the regulations made in pursuance thereof." Placing his name to the paper he handed it to the Secretary. Cheer upon cheer followed, then William H. Walling and many others added their names.

Albert M. Barney, George Parker, and William H. Walling then proceeded to visit Fowler, Hammond and Rossie, and obtained recruits in each town. Mr. Charles Anthony went to Albany, and procured an order to have General Noble S. Elderkin inspect the company and preside at an election of officers. This was done by General Elderkin on May 2nd, when the following were elected officers: George Parker, Captain; Albert M. Barney, First Lieutenant; Robert P. Wilson, Second Lieutenant; with a full complement of non-commissioned officers and sixty-four privates, whose names appear on Company D roster, Sixteenth New York.

On the 6th of May, the citizens from the surrounding country assembled in front of the hotel of Colonel James M. Spencer, to witness the ceremonies before the company took its departure for Albany. Miss Caroline Sharp, on behalf of the women of Gouverneur, presented a beautiful silk flag, Mrs. Cornelius A. Parker a bouquet of flowers, and Peter Horr, an aged veteran of the War of 1812, a purse containing one hundred dimes, which he had saved from the sale of his bounty land to be used in paying his funeral expenses, "but," said he, "it shall go to help those who fight

for my country, though my bones bleach upon the sand." To all these presentations the captain responded briefly, the Reverend B. B. Beckwith offered a short prayer, giving as a final benediction the never-to-be-forgotten injunction, "Trust in God and keep your powder dry;" and with cheers and salvos of artillery the company marched to the station, took the afternoon train, and arrived in Albany the next morning, having been accepted on May 2nd, the date of its inspection by General Elderkin.

War Meeting in Stockholm

On the publication of Governor Morgan's proclamation calling for volunteers, a meeting was held in the Town Hall, at Stockholm Centre. The Honorable Daniel Shaw was called to the chair, and stated that the object of the meeting was to consult as to what action the people of Stockholm should take in the present crisis. After some remarks by several leading men, Warren Gibson, one of the active and prominent business men of the town, rose and said,—"Action is better than words. I propose that we raise a company in this town, and I promise to be one of its members." He was followed by Archibald S. Tucker and many others in the hall. Following this meeting, Mr. Gibson, Mr. Tucker, and several others who volunteered at that time visited Brasher, Lawrence, and Norfolk, inviting others to join the company, and obtained volunteers in each town. When a sufficient number had been enrolled to form a company, they met for organization, in the basement of the Methodist Church in West Stockholm. Warren Gibson was chosen Captain; Alanson M. Barnard, First Lieutenant; and Archibald S. Tucker, Second Lieutenant; with a full complement of non-commissioned officers, musicians, and sixty-four privates, whose names appear on Company H roster, Six-

teenth New York. Charles Hancock, of Potsdam, who had served in the regular army, gave the company some useful advice, and instructed the officers as to their places and duties. Two days later, the company marched to the village of Potsdam, and was inspected by a militia officer and Charles Hancock. On Friday morning, May 3rd, the company met in the Methodist Church of West Stockholm, and John S. Thompson, on behalf of the women of Stockholm, presented a flag made by their own hands; Second Lieutenant Tucker thanked the donors. Relatives and neighbors of the members of the company were at the door of the church with carriages and wagons to carry them to North Stockholm, where they took the train for Albany, via Rouse Point, steamer to Whitehall; thence by cars to Albany, and arriving May 4th they were accepted May 7th.

War Meeting in Plattsburgh

On the afternoon of the 16th day of April, 1861, Pliny Moore, grandson of General Benjamin Mooers who had commanded the militia in the battle of Plattsburgh, September 11, 1814, called upon Franklin Palmer, and suggested that steps be taken to raise a company of volunteers under the President's call. The proposition was agreed to, and the following notice was printed and circulated in the village of Plattsburgh and adjoining towns:—

"CITIZENS TAKE NOTICE!

"The citizens of Plattsburgh are requested to meet at the Court House, Wednesday evening, the 17th, to take into consideration the matter of immediate action in sustaining the Constitution and the laws of our country. Also for the purpose of forming a volunteer company in this town, to be attached to a regiment organized in the county. A general attendance is requested."

At the time designated, the court room was filled by men representing all political parties. Judge Lemuel Stetson, who had been a delegate from the district to the Democratic Convention which met in Charleston, South Carolina, and later at Baltimore, Maryland, in 1860, was called to preside. On taking the chair, he said: "In this crisis all party feeling should be put aside, and every one stand for the preservation of the Union and with the Administration in enforcing the laws and recovering the property of the United States unlawfully seized." Several others spoke in the same strain. Franklin Palmer proposed that steps be taken to organize a company under the call of the President, and produced a paper pledging those who should sign it to volunteer. He signed it first and thirty-four others added their names. These men then retired to another room in the Court House and elected Franklin Palmer, Captain; Royal Corbin, First Lieutenant; Pliny Moore, Second Lieutenant; and later enlistments increased the number to a full complement of non-commissioned officers, musicians, and sixty-four privates, whose names appeared on Company C roster, Sixteenth New York.

A second meeting was held in the Court House on April 20th. William Palmer was called to the chair; Colonel R. G. Stone, F. L. C. Sailly, and Patrick Eagan were chosen vice-presidents. Captain Franklin Palmer and John L. Stetson were chosen secretaries; Thomas Armstrong, Daniel S. McMasters, Henry S. Johnson, George M. Beckwith, John L. Stetson, and Judge Lemuel Stetson, addressed the meeting. D. S. McMasters, George H. Beckwith, and H. S. Johnson were appointed a committee to provide for the expenses of the volunteers until their services were accepted by the State, and the sum of $2335 was raised for that purpose.

Colonel Putnam Lawrence of the State militia, under orders of the Adjutant-General of the State, inspected and presided

at the election of officers of the first company of Plattsburgh on the 25th day of April. The next day it took the night boat for Whitehall, thence by railway to Albany, arrived April 27th, and was accepted on the 30th.

After the adjournment of the meeting held on the 20th, a second company was organized and the following officers were elected: John L. Stetson, Captain; Ransom M. Pierce, First Lieutenant; and Charles H. Bentley, Second Lieutenant; with a full complement of non-commissioned officers, musicians, and sixty-four privates, whose names appear in Company E roster, Sixteenth New York. The second company left Plattsburgh by the night boat on May 3rd, arrived at Albany on the 4th, and was accepted on the 7th of May.

War Meeting in Chazy

When Governor Morgan's proclamation of April 18, 1861, was published, Wallace W. Wood, a manufacturer of lumber at Wood's Falls, stated to his employees in the mill that he intended to organize a company under the call, and that he would take as many single men as chose to join the company. Forty at once volunteered. He then traveled through the adjoining towns, obtaining the maximum number to organize a company. These men met at West Chazy on May 1st, and elected Wallace W. Wood, Captain; John McFadden, First Lieutenant; Henry J. Carlton, Second Lieutenant; with a full complement of non-commissioned officers, musicians, and privates, whose names appear in Company K roster, Sixteenth New York. The Captain telegraphed to the Adjutant-General at Albany that he had organized a company, and asked for instructions and transportation; but no orders having been received on the morning of the 3rd, he took his company to Plattsburgh by rail, and by the evening boat to Whitehall; thence by rail to

Albany, where it arrived on the 4th, and took quarters in an unused church. The company was accepted on the 7th.

War Meeting in Malone

The first war meeting in Franklin County was held in Malone, April 25th. Honorable Albert Andrus, an old time Democrat, presided, and the meeting was addressed by the Honorable William A. Wheeler, the Representative in Congress, Honorable Ashbel B. Parmelee and others, who made ringing speeches, exhorting all to give prompt and energetic support to the Administration in its purpose to enforce the laws. Joel J. Seaver, editor of *The Malone Palladium*, advised the enrolling of a company under the law recently passed by the legislature, and was the first to tender his services. Ten thousand dollars were raised to aid the families of those who should volunteer.

Within a week the company, composed of representatives from nearly every town in Franklin County, was organized by electing Joel J. Seaver, Captain; Frederick F. Wead, a brilliant young lawyer of Malone, First Lieutenant; and Milton E. Roberts, a young business man of Chateaugay, and a descendant of one of the first settlers of Northern New York, as Second Lieutenant; with a full complement of non-commissioned officers, musicians, and sixty-four privates, for whom see roster of Company I, Sixteenth New York.

While the recruiting was being carried forward, the women were busily engaged in scraping lint, making havelocks, and knitting socks. A flag was presented to the company by Miss Martha Lindsay, a member of the Franklin Academy, a sword to the captain, and a Bible to each member. On Sunday, the 5th of May, the company attended church in a body. On the 6th, it left for Albany, arrived on the 7th, and was accepted by the Military Board the same day.

CHAPTER II

ORGANIZATION OF THE SIXTEENTH

THE companies first arriving from Northern New York were invited to join in forming the third regiment, to be commanded by Colonel Frederick Townsend, but they declined all applications and stood out until ten companies should arrive from the north. On the evening of the 7th of May, representatives of the companies of Nevin, Pomeroy, Palmer, Parker, Stetson, Gilmore, Curtis, Gibson, Seaver, and Bartlett met, agreed to unite in forming a regiment, and adjourned until the 8th, when all the officers of the above mentioned companies met to decide upon the field officers, whom under the law they were authorized to select.

It had been announced that the Honorable Amaziah B. James would be chosen Colonel, and George R. Myers, Major, of the regiment formed by the northern companies. The chief reason for choosing Judge James was that he had been a delegate to the Chicago Convention and one of the committee to notify Mr. Lincoln of his nomination, and would therefore be able to do more for the regiment than any other man. It was also intimated that he would not remain with the regiment should active hostilities really be inaugurated, as he could not abandon his high judicial position for a colonelcy, but that, after taking the regiment to Washington and introducing it to the proper authorities, he would resume the duties of his position on the Bench.

There was no personal opposition to Judge James, as he was known to be one of the most influential men in Northern

New York, but the young men in the regiment believed that they should have a colonel who would stay with them, and, if possible, one who could instruct them in the science and art of war. A committee was appointed to wait upon Major Delafield, U. S. A., later Brigadier-General, Chief of Engineers, who was at Albany, assisting Governor Morgan in organizing troops, and to consult him as to the best course for the officers to pursue. In announcing the object of their call, they stated that they thought it would be desirable to choose for their colonel a West Point graduate, or a man who had served in the Mexican War. He heartily approved of their proposition and suggested Henry W. Slocum of Syracuse, Thomas A. Davies of New York City, and Elisha G. Marshall of Rochester, all graduates of West Point. He also stated that Thomas A. Davies was a native of St. Lawrence County. Not one of the officers had ever seen Thomas A. Davies, and they knew nothing of him except what they had learned from Major Delafield. Two or three knew his brother John, a farmer on Black Lake, and a like number had met his brother, Judge Henry E. Davies of the Court of Appeals, while all had used the mathematical text books of another brother, Charles Davies, Professor in the U. S. Military Academy at West Point.

It was known to a few of the officers that Dr. Socrates N. Sherman, Representative in Congress from St. Lawrence, was in Albany to secure the election of Judge James, and that he had the active support of Attorney-General Charles G. Myers, also from St. Lawrence. It was understood that these gentlemen would see to it that "the boys" made no mistake. The thirty officers of the companies above mentioned met behind closed doors, and adopted the following resolutions:

"RESOLVED:—That every one present at this meeting agrees to preserve as a profound secret the proceedings of this and all

subsequent meetings relating to the organization of the regiment, until it is mustered into the United States service."

"RESOLVED:—That in selecting officers no one shall be considered who has not had a military education or seen active service."

The roll was called on these resolutions separately, and they were unanimously adopted. The name of Judge James was presented, with the statement that he was educated as a lawyer and had been a brigadier-general of militia. The question of qualification, under the previous resolution, was raised, and the chairman ruled out the candidate, as ineligible. The name of Thomas A. Davies was proposed, with the statement that he had been educated at West Point, and had seen service in the regiment commanded by Colonel Zachary Taylor. The vote was taken; twenty-seven votes were cast for Davies, and three for James.

Dr. Samuel Marsh of Potsdam, New York, a graduate of a military school at Norwich, Vermont, and Buel Palmer, colonel of a militia regiment at Plattsburgh, were named for the office of lieutenant-colonel. No other names were presented, and an agreement was made that the one receiving the larger number of votes should be made lieutenant-colonel, and the other candidate should be major of the regiment. Under this arrangement Dr. Samuel Marsh was elected Lieutenant-Colonel, and Buel Palmer, Major. The chairman of the meeting was directed to advise the Adjutant-General that the officers were ready to hold a formal meeting to elect officers for the regiment.

Early on the morning of the 9th, Dr. Sherman charged me with bringing politics into the organization of a regiment from the strongest Republican section of the State, in that I had been instrumental in having a Democrat elected as colonel. It was then made known for the first time that Thomas A. Davies was a member of the Democratic party.

I had never thought of partisan politics, and had never heard the subject broached by a single officer of the regiment, although one-third of them were of the Democratic party. They had all been influenced solely by a desire to promote the public service, and to secure a colonel who was competent and able to instruct them in their new profession.

I was greatly incensed, and forthwith notified the other officers that Dr. Sherman was in full possession of all that had taken place at their secret meeting; whereupon a meeting was at once called and each officer asked if he had violated the pledge made the day before. As the roll call proceeded each one answered "NO," until the Second Lieutenant of Bartlett's company replied, "It's none of your d—d business, I do not intend to become the tail of a Democratic kite." A resolution was at once passed, supported by twenty-seven votes, ejecting Captain Bartlett's company from the regiment, and inviting Captain Wood's of Clinton County to join it.

On the 9th, Brigadier-General Rathbone, commanding the Albany rendezvous, was ordered to preside at an election of field officers for the Sixteenth New York Infantry, composed of six companies from St. Lawrence, three from Clinton, and one from Franklin counties. General Rathbone filed his return of the election, and on the 10th, the following order announcing the organization of the Sixteenth was issued:

"General Headquarters State of New York,
"Adjutant-General's Office, May 10th, 1861.

"Special Orders

"No. 162.

"On return of Brigadier-General Rathbone, commanding Albany Depot, of an election held pursuant to Special Orders No. 155 for choice of persons to fill the office of Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Major of the Sixteenth regiment, the following

named persons having been chosen at such election are hereby assigned to such regiment and will be obeyed and respected accordingly:

"THOMAS A. DAVIES as Colonel,
"SAMUEL MARSH as Lieutenant-Colonel,
"BUEL PALMER as Major.

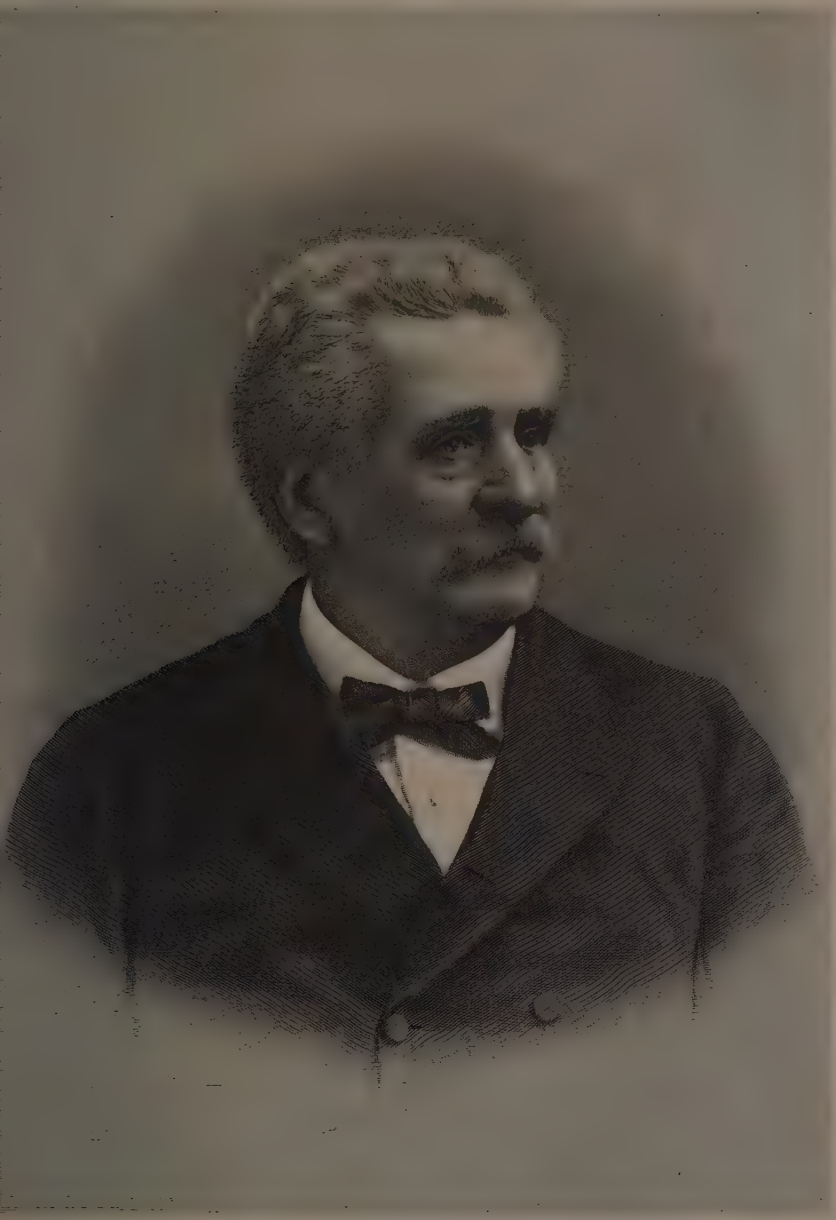
"Colonel Davies will immediately report for duty to Brigadier-General Rathbone, and his regiment will be held in readiness to be mustered into the service of the United States.

"By order of the Commander-in-Chief,
"J. MEREDITH READ, JR., *Adjutant-General.*"

On Sunday morning, May 12th, notice was given that enlisted men could attend church in Albany, if accompanied by a commissioned officer, and that passes would be furnished on application of the captains of companies. No one in my company desired to attend church, except five or six Roman Catholics, and every officer was physically or spiritually indisposed. I called on General Rathbone and requested that my men might be permitted to go to church in charge of a non-commissioned officer, assuming all responsibility for their safe return, but the request was refused. I then asked for a pass for one of my men. It was made out in the name of a Roman Catholic member, who carried the following note, addressed "To a Roman Catholic Priest":

"Captain Curtis, quartered in the Industrial School Barracks, respectfully requests a Roman Catholic Priest to call at his quarters and minister to the members of his company, who are unable to leave the camp."

In a very short time, a young priest called in response to the note and went among the members of the company, seeking out those of his faith for special attention and admonition, speaking to all kind words, and encouraging them in the faithful performance of their new duties. I did not



Thos. A. Davies

BREVET MAJOR GENERAL U. S. V.

learn the name of the young priest, but we met again many years later; he was then in the splendid robes of his episcopal office, the Right Reverend Edgar P. Wadhams, the first Roman Catholic bishop of Ogdensburg. This is no place to make an extended reference to the life and labors of this good man, but I am sure that throughout the diocese, where he ministered to the people of the struggling parishes for so many years, there is not one, Protestant or Roman Catholic, who will not accord to him the qualities which are so beautifully set forth in Dryden's "Character of a Good Parson." If I could bestow higher praise I would gladly do it.

The regular habits of home life were greatly changed on our arrival in Albany. Steady occupation with a definite purpose, regular meals of nourishing food, airy chambers affording refreshing sleep, all gave way to idle, listless waiting, irregular meals of unwholesome food, and sleeping accommodations which were neither comfortable nor sanitary. On the day of muster, ten per cent. of the men had been discharged or were sick in hospital.

John Snyder, First Lieutenant of the Depeyster company, became suddenly very ill; the post surgeon, mistaking an acute case of indigestion for heart disease, ordered his discharge, and he left us reluctantly. Snyder re-entered the service the same year, and for nearly three years performed acceptably the duties of first lieutenant and captain in the Sixtieth New York and the Fourteenth New York Heavy Artillery. He died thirty years after the War, well advanced in life, and with an apparently sound heart. Simon C. Vedder of Plattsburgh, who was in Albany with a score of men anxious to join some regiment, was taken into the Depeyster company, in place of First Lieutenant John Snyder.

No mistake was made in the selection of Thomas A. Davies for colonel, and many of those who were displeased

with his election frankly admitted, later, that the judgment of the company officers proved better than the advice of some of the home friends. No one acquiesced in this opinion more cheerfully than did Dr. Sherman, whose long service in the field as surgeon of the Thirty-fourth New York Regiment and later of the United States Volunteers, gave him abundant opportunity to estimate the value of the services of an officer educated in the science and art of war. Dr. Sherman was a strict partisan, and had really believed it best for the regiment and for the public service to have a man elected colonel who was in full political accord with the Administration. He had not at that time dissociated partisan activities from military operations, but during the four years in which he held an important position in the army, and rendered a service that is gratefully remembered by thousands who came under his hands, he came thoroughly to understand that war could best be conducted by those educated in military science.

Great as was the service of Colonel Davies in drilling and disciplining the regiment, it will be conceded by all that his greatest service was in bringing to it, as adjutant, Joseph Howland, of Dutchess County, whose capacity and judgment were at once manifest. Joseph Howland possessed, as a birthright, every quality requisite to the making of a soldier and a gentleman. He at all times possessed the confidence, respect and affection of those under his command, and stood among the first in the esteem and consideration of his superiors.

Surgeon William B. Crandall, of New York City, proved himself a competent and efficient officer and remained with the regiment until the end. Arthur de Windt, of Dutchess County, the quartermaster, might have proved himself able, had he remained with the regiment long enough to demonstrate his ability. Assistant-Surgeon John H. Mooers, of

Plattsburgh, was the only staff officer taken from Northern New York, and demonstrated his great skill and devotion; and while all were glad of his promotion as surgeon of the One Hundred and Eighteenth New York, his leaving was regarded as a great loss to the regiment. Sergeant-Major Frederick C. Tapley, a native of Massachusetts, had recently been discharged from the United States Dragoons, after completing an enlistment of five years, in which he had attained the same position into which he was mustered as a member of the Sixteenth. Quartermaster-Sergeant Charles F. Moore, and Fife-Major David N. Wetherby, were from Clinton County. Colonel Davies brought with him from New York the drum-major, Howard B. Utter.

On May 15, 1861, Captain L. Sitgreaves, United States Engineers, and Captain Frank Wheaton, United States Cavalry, mustered the regiment into the United States Service, for the term of two years, unless sooner discharged.

When my company was called out to take the oath, two men refused to be mustered into the United States Service, and General Rathbone ordered them to be drummed out of camp. When the lines of troops, between which they were to be marched, were formed, they weakened and offered to go into any regiment which the general might name; he declined to accept their offer and the ceremony proceeded. These boys went home, but not to stay; the next year I found them in the regiment under my command, and I recall with pleasure that they were good soldiers and proved, in every engagement, that they were really brave men. The only explanation which they ever gave as to the cause of their refusal to be mustered was this,—"We wanted to go home." These feelings were shared by many down to the close of the war, but in a few cases only did they cause men stealthily to leave the ranks. Drill, discipline, and active duty were the best antidotes for home-sickness.

CHAPTER III

PRELIMINARY INSTRUCTION IN THE ART OF WAR

ON the 18th of May, the six companies in the Industrial School barracks, and four which were quartered in different places in the city, were brought together in the new wood barracks and inducted into guard duty, and squad and company drills. Companies took turns in performing guard duty for one day, and all others were required to drill six hours daily, except Sunday. The officers were as ignorant as the men in the ranks; they studied hard at night to learn the commands and their proper execution, and often carried a copy of Hardee's *Tactics* to help them out in hard places. Nevertheless, some very ludicrous movements took place; one of the almost insurmountable difficulties being that of keeping step and learning to advance the left foot first. "Time and motions" tried their souls and muscles, and the comprehension of compound commands, the first part cautionary, the second executive, was especially difficult. An example may illustrate:—"Now, men, I will advance you in line, every one will throw his shoulders back, look straight to the front, touch elbows to the right, and at the command, step off with the left foot; F-o-r-w-a-r-d (off the squad moves). *No*, I did not say *march;* when I say 'f-o-r-w-a-r-d,' stand *still*, when I say '*march*,' step out with the left foot, and keep the step until I call '*halt*.'" After two or three attempts he gets them off at the command "*March*," but the step is soon lost, and he calls "Left, left, left," having instructed them that they are to bring the left foot to the ground when

he calls "*Left.*" "*Now* you have *got* it, *no*, you have lost it, left, left," and to vary the monotony he uses the old phrases, "left, left, I had a good home which I left, left, left. Oh! you are all mixed up again, *Halt!*" After an alignment, renewed efforts would be made to have it done "right this time."

Ludicrous and amusing as it must have been to one familiar with the elementary lessons in the art of war, certain it is that the perseverance and patience exhibited by a squad of raw recruits, being instructed in military tactics by an officer as innocent as themselves, was a sight which would have caused the ancient Stoics to turn green with envy. Happily, neither instructor nor learner was conscious of his astounding absurdities; if they had been, no courage which they could have summoned would have carried them through the ordeal. The time came when they were so proficient in drill that they executed difficult movements on the field, in the face of battalions and batteries in action. Great as were their losses in performing these tactical feats, it is believed that they would sooner have repeated these manœuvres in the face of an enemy, than have gone through, in the face of friends, the bungling exercises practised in their early days in Albany. The officers were not only ignorant of the tactics, but of every detail pertaining to military affairs; the preparation of official reports and the making of requisitions for supplies were matters to be learned, and many surprising documents were, no doubt, sent in to headquarters. Whether any of them were as unique and as startling as the requisition for equipments made by the officers of a Light Artillery company in Madison County, in the War of 1812, I am unable to state. Mr. Thurlow Weed, in his autobiography, states that the officers of this company were unable to make a requisition which was satisfactory to themselves, and finally submitted the subject to a village lawyer, the

father of Mr. Luther R. Marsh, who became a distinguished lawyer in New York City. He presented the following, which was forwarded and promptly filled:

"Great Daniel D., we send to thee
For two great guns and trimmings!
Send them to hand, or you'll be damned,
By order of Captain Jennings."

Governor Tompkins frequently showed it to his friends, as an interesting specimen of official correspondence connected with the organization and equipment of the militia of the State, in response to the calls of the Federal Authorities in the War of 1812.

One hundred and fifty Springfield muskets of the pattern of 1840 were soon issued to the regiment; those not required for the use of the guard were distributed among the companies, to be used in practising the manual of arms.

On June 1st, the regiment, in company with the Twenty-eighth New York, under Colonel Donnelly, was moved into camp at Normand's Kill, Bethlehem, and commenced life under canvas. On the 15th, uniforms were received; this acquisition did much to improve the health and spirits of the men; nothing is more depressing to a respectable man, than to be placed in a position where he is made uncomfortable and unpresentable, by reason of deficient or worn out clothing.

Colonel Davies notified the Reverend L. Merrill Miller, D.D., of the First Presbyterian Church of Ogdensburg, that he had been selected chaplain, and requested him to report for duty as early as possible. He came to our camp, but declined the appointment. The few days he spent with us, and the sermon which he preached on Sunday, made all regret that he was not to be the chaplain. His heart was in the work that the soldiers went out to perform, but the people

of his large parish urged him not to leave them, even for the short time which it was then thought would be required to end the war. He did stay with them as active pastor for more than fifty years, during thirty of which I was a member of his congregation; in all these years he discharged faithfully the duties of his position, which ended only with the day of his death, in his eighty-third year. The beauty of his character was such that his name has become a household word, and his memory is cherished by the people of all faiths as one whose life was both an example and a benediction. Reverend Royal B. Stratton, a native of St. Lawrence County, but at that time pastor of the Arbor Hill Methodist Episcopal Church at Albany, was appointed chaplain; he preached one sermon in Camp Morgan, joined us in Virginia in September, and, after preaching one sermon, resigned. He was a most eloquent and interesting speaker, and would doubtless have made an efficient chaplain had he been able to endure the exposure of camp life.

On Sunday, the 16th of June, the regiment was paid for the time it had been in the State service.

Governor Morgan reviewed the regiment on the 24th, and was entertained with a sham battle; the final charge was made with vociferous cheers, and the review might properly have been called "a howling success." On the morning of the 25th, six hundred old Springfield muskets, of the same pattern as the hundred and fifty previously supplied, were issued, and in the afternoon the regiment marched to Albany and took passage on a steamer for the city of New York, arriving at the foot of Fourteenth Street early on the morning of the 26th. It marched to Broadway, down Broadway to 8th Street, and thence to Washington Square, where it was presented with a national flag and a stand of state colors, by Mr. Robert S. Hone, on behalf of Mrs. Joseph Howland, the wife of the adjutant. He said:—

"Colonel Davies:—

"It is my privilege to stand here this day as the representative of Mrs. Joseph Howland, to present, in her name, these beautiful colors to the gallant regiment under your command. She wishes me to make this presentation in as few words as possible. Her heart is, as you know, full of the tenderest emotions at this moment of the departure of the Sixteenth Regiment for the seat of war, to take its full share of the perils, and to reap its full share of the glories of the campaign, and I can vouch for it that she, as fully as any of you, is doing her duty, making her sacrifice at the altar of her country. Your mission is a sacred one. You go forth, representatives of this great State, battling for the nationality of your country, ready to lay down your lives, if need be, for the maintenance of law and order, on which rest all the foundations of society. The safety, happiness and well being of yourselves, your families, your fellow-citizens, are dependent upon your success in this holy cause. Go forth, then, fearlessly and cheerfully, in the full assurance that the prayers of those you leave behind will daily ascend to the throne of Grace in your behalf, to nerve your arm, and to cheer your absent hours. I cannot more fittingly conclude than by quoting two lines from that beautiful hymn to the Flag of Our Country:—

> "Then conquer you must, for our cause it is just,
> And this be your motto,—'In God is our trust.'"

Colonel Davies, in accepting the appropriate gift, said that he also desired to thank Mrs. Howland for her generous contribution of many articles needed by the regiment, before they were supplied by the State; then, holding the banner and flag before the regiment, he asked if they would defend and protect them. The response was an earnest of the valor and gallantry they afterwards displayed in making good their promise; during the service of the regiment more than a score of men in the color guard were killed or seriously wounded in holding the colors aloft, but never once were they lost, or touched by an enemy's hand.

Substantial refreshments were brought by friends of the regiment, and John Percy of Plattsburgh presented several kegs of that moderately exhilarating beverage, mentioned by a patriotic German-American after taking the oath of service, "One flag, one constitution, one country, and *zwei* lager."

In the afternoon, the regiment was marched to City Hall Park, where additional refreshments were furnished by the proprietor of the Astor House. Towards evening, it re-embarked for Elizabethport, New Jersey, and, the next day, took the Jersey Central train for Washington, via Harrisburg and Baltimore. Before entering Baltimore the train was stopped, and the regiment called out and ordered to load their muskets preparatory to marching through Baltimore, at which place they arrived soon after sunrise on the 29th, and marched across the city to President Street station, before many of the residents were out of their houses.

Adjutant Howland of the Sixteenth described the journey in a letter to his wife, as follows:—

"Our journey on was a hard one. We reached Harrisburg late Friday P.M., and Baltimore at sunrise on Saturday. Our passage through Balitmore was unmolested,[1] but was one of the most impressive scenes imaginable. We marched through about eight o'clock without music and with colors furled, in perfect silence, marching in quick time, only pausing once to rest. The streets were full of people, but we did not get one word of welcome or a single smile except from two little girls in an upper window and half a dozen old darkies standing in door-ways. At the head of the column of eight hundred stern-faced men walked the colonel with his sword sheathed and a hickory stick in his hand. Once a rough fellow in the crowd (a city official) asked

[1] "A few weeks before this the Sixth Massachusetts, crossing Baltimore to Washington Station were attacked by a furious mob of roughs, rebel sympathizers, and pelted with stones and brickbats. Two soldiers were killed and eight wounded."

tauntingly, 'Where's your music?' and Colonel Davies gritting his teeth, replied, 'In our cartridge-boxes!' We were all fully armed and supplied with ammunition, and had received full instructions how to act in case of an attack.

"Tramp, tramp, tramp, went the Sixteenth through Baltimore in the early morning, and the crowd looked cold and bitter at us, and we looked stern and ready at them. All the road from Harrisburg to Washington is guarded by strong bodies of Federal troops, and they are needed."

The regiment arrived in Washington before noon on the 29th, and went into camp east and north of the Capitol, naming it "Camp Woolsey," in honor of Mrs. Charles William Woolsey, the mother of the adjutant's wife. Mrs. Woolsey, with her daughters, had, beside their attentions to the regiment, aided in organizing and furnishing the early army hospitals in New York and elsewhere.

The common on which we pitched our tents was the feeding or play ground of goats, chickens, ducks, pigs, and pickaninnies. While putting up the tents and collecting baggage from the train, one of those fearful rain storms, common in that section, descended upon the camp. Company G was in a deep depression, some feet lower than the ground occupied by the other companies, and a flood of water rushed down the company street, flooding my tent and floating my belongings. While trying to keep my tent and property from destruction, I was addressed by Lieutenant McFadden who occupied the tent on my right,—"It is fortunate that it fell to your lot to take this depression, for a man of my height might have drowned, encamped in that place. If I die in the army, I certainly hope that it will be in battle, not drowned in a slough." On June 27, 1862, during the battle of Chickahominy while bravely pressing the enemy, he received the wound from which he died on the 8th of August following.

The regiment was in the review held by the President on the 4th of July. While in Washington, it exchanged Springfield muskets for Enfield rifles. There were daily drills or target practice; the only score recorded is that made on July 2, 1861, announced in General Orders No. 15:— "Record of shooting at mark this day by the Sixteenth Regiment; members of companies nearest the mark— A, 18; B, 14; C, 24; D, 23; E, 25; F, 21; G, 31; H, 17; I, 26; K, 23."

On July 11th, the regiment marched down 7th Street and took boat for Alexandria, arriving late in the afternoon, in a heavy rainstorm. It marched out Duke Street and encamped in a meadow south of Fort Ellsworth then in course of construction. It was very dark when we reached the camping grounds and many disagreeable incidents occurred. One befell Captain Stetson, who fell into the raceway which carried water from Hunting Creek to the Cameron Flour Mills; his splashing brought help, but some of those who went to his aid slipped down the bank into the race, and not until several had joined hands and formed a line were their efforts at rescue successful. The darkness was Egyptian, all were utter strangers, and ignorant of what might befall them in a single step. When Captain Stetson and the others had been rescued, he commented cheerfully on the occurrence, and said that if he must die in the service he preferred to die as a soldier. These words were recalled by members of the Sixteenth when they received the news of his death, and by the party of friends from his old regiment who searched the battle-field of Antietam and found, where the dead lay thickest, the body of Lieutenant-Colonel Stetson, then of the Fifty-ninth New York, and paid it the honors of a battle-field burial.

On July 13th, the Sixteenth, the Eighteenth, the Thirty-first, and the Thirty-second New York regiments were brought together under command of Colonel Thomas A.

Davies They formed the Second Brigade of the Fifth Division, under command of Colonel Dixon S. Miles, Second United States Infantry, of the Army of Northeastern Virginia, commanded by Brigadier-General Irvin McDowell, United States Army. Adjutant Howland of the Sixteenth was appointed acting assistant adjutant-general on the staff of Colonel Davies.

During our first week in Virginia the regiment furnished details for picket, and continued company and battalion drills. On the 12th, Captain Wood visited Mount Vernon, and reported the discoveries he made there to Colonel Davies, who sent out Companies C, D, and K of the Sixteenth on a reconnaissance, and reported the results of the expedition to Colonel Miles as follows:—

"Headquarters Second Brigade, Fifth Division,
"Alexandria, Va., July 14th, 1861.

"Sir:—In pursuance of your verbal orders of yesterday, I made a reconnaissance as far as Mount Vernon. Captain Wood was informed that a large amount of provisions were to be sent for tonight (July 14th) by some person who was to convey them and the negroes on the plantation to the Southern Army. I immediately ordered out three companies—C, D, and K of the Sixteenth regiment. On arriving at the plantation I could not find any more than sufficient in my judgment, to carry on the operations of the plantation. Whatever may be my individual views as to the confiscation of the property of rebels who are using it and its income to overthrow the government, I consider that the case was not sufficiently plain to authorize me to take the mule teams, or seize upon the fish and bacon, although their owner is well known to be an officer high in rank in the rebel army and now in active command.

"As to the negroes, there being no law or orders directing me to cause them to remain at home or to prevent them from volunteering to do team duty in my brigade, I shall allow them to remain until otherwise directed. I, however, have placed a guard

over the provisions, the mules, and the wagons, on the estate, and shall await your orders for their disposition.

"THOS. A. DAVIES,
"*Colonel Commanding Second Brigade, Fifth Division.*"

"TO COL. MILES,
"Comdg. Fifth Div. Dep't of Northeastern Virginia."

"ENDORSEMENT, July 16th, 1861.

"Colonel Davies has been instructed to immediately withdraw his pickets to within a proper distance in front of his brigade, to respect private property, and to send back to the farm the negroes his troops brought away.

"D. S. MILES,
"*Colonel Second Infantry, Comdg. Fifth Division.*"

This endorsement indicated the decision of the authorities not to interfere with slavery or to permit the soldiers to indulge in sentimentalities respecting the freedom of the bondmen. It was impressed on the army that it was organized to suppress seceders, not to disturb the institutions of the States.

If Colonel Davies had known, when he pitched the tents of his regiment near Alexandria, that the field we occupied belonged to the farm on which Mrs. Woolsey had once lived, I have no doubt that we should have had a second "Camp Woolsey," instead of "Camp Vernon." I am permitted to copy from the "*Letters of a Family during the War for the Union*," printed for private distribution, extracts which will show how appropriate the name suggested would have been.

Mrs. Woolsey's daughter writes:

"Our regiment, the Sixteenth New York, was about two weeks stationed at 'Camp Woolsey,' near the Capitol, and then crossed the Potomac and pitched its tents on Cameron Run, a little west

of Alexandria, in the fields which were once the property of our great-great aunt Ricketts, whose plantation was famous for its flour, ground by the mill on the run. This aunt Ricketts, a sweet-faced woman, whose likeness was among those taken by Saint Memin about 1805, brought up your dear grand-mother (left an orphan in 1814), whose letter of July 19th speaks of those days":—

"8 Brevoort Place, Friday, July 19, 1861.

. . . "I have just been devouring the *Times*—that part of it at least, and that only, which tells of the war movements,—everything else is passed over with a very slighting glance. We feel the intensest interest now in every tramp of the soldiery as they advance southward, and wait with great impatience from night till morning, and from morning till night again, for our papers.

"How deeply interesting was your letter to us, written in the doorway of J.'s tent at Alexandria—not the first tent letter we have received from you, but how different the circumstances of this last from any other! and how strange to me that poor old Alexandria, where all of my eleven brothers and sisters were born and where my father and mother and relatives lie buried, should be the scene of such warfare—the camping ground of my children under such circumstances! You must have been very near the graves of your grandparents and that of my dear venerated great-aunt, Mary Ricketts, who was a loving mother to me after the death of my own. Cameron, too, was one of the places and homes of my childhood. It was the country seat of this same good aunt, and on the grounds some distance from the dwelling house stands a dilapidated building, in its day a fine 'mansion' for that part of the country, which was the original home of the family, and where my mother was married to a then 'affluent merchant' of Alexandria.

"'Cameron Run' was the scene of all our childish sports, where we used to fish and sail and bathe, and have all sorts of good times; it was then a wide deep stream and formed the boundary line along the bottom of the garden at Cameron, and was lined on either side by magnolia trees; and when the old family

coach, with its gray horses, was called up to the door on Sunday morning to take us into town for church, we each had our magnolia in hand, showing where our morning walk had been, and *our side* of the old church was known by its perfume. All this is as fresh in my memory as if *fifty years* had been but as many days! I perfectly remember every spot about the old place; but everything had changed almost entirely when I was last there, though I look back to it still as it was in my childhood. More than ever do I now regret my not having kept a diary of my early life, which might have been interesting to my children." . . .

The daughter adds:

"It was a pretty spot, our camp in a valley in Virginia,—the hillside, covered with white tents, sloping to a green meadow and a clear bright little river. The meadow was part of my great-great-aunt's farm years ago, and in the magnolia-bordered stream my grandfather's children had fished and paddled. Now, we, two generations afterwards, had come back and pitched our tents in the old wheat field, and made ready for war, and there were no magnolia blossoms any more." . . . "Our regiment had only been encamped a few days on Cameron Run when the advance against the enemy at Manassas was ordered, and we two (G. and E.) watched the brigade break camp and march down the peaceful country road, carrying J. away from us. We stood alone, and looked after them as long as they were in sight, and then made our way back to Washington."

CHAPTER IV

"ON TO RICHMOND"

AT 3 P.M. July 16, 1861, the Sixteenth New York, with forty rounds of ammunition and three days' cooked rations, formed in line on the Alexandria and Fairfax Pike, and marched, with the regiments of the Second Brigade, Fifth Division, to Annandale, and encamped for the night. At daybreak the advance was resumed on the old Braddock road, marching until 8.30 A.M., when we found obstruction but no enemy. At 11 A.M., we met the first Confederate pickets with whom we exchanged shots, but no casualties resulted until we came on the main force, upon which their outposts had fallen back, about three miles from Fairfax Court House, where a brisk skirmish took place between the enemy and our picket line; the casualties on our side were the mortal wounding of Sergeant John S. Allen, Company K, Eighteenth New York, who was the first Northern New Yorker to fall in the Civil War, and the slight wounding of a private of the same regiment. Resuming our march, we came to the recently abandoned camp of the Fifth Alabama Rifles wherein were found a well prepared dinner, caddies of tea, barrels of sugar, and many articles better suited for a picnic or a party in a summer house than to soldiers in the field. We envied the bountifully supplied Southerners then, but the time came when we were often glad to give a hungry "Johnnie" a taste of our bread and bacon. Learning that McDowell's troops occupied Fair-

fax Court House, half a mile away, we encamped for the night. On Thursday morning we marched to Centreville.

While at Centreville, the regiment was encamped near the Garibaldi Guards, which regiment, notwithstanding the rigid orders against foraging, carried it on to an extent that brought severe criticism from headquarters. Its conduct in this respect was contagious, and the Sixteenth carried on some transactions not in keeping with the spirit and terms of the general order.

One incident attracted more attention than was expected or desired, by the parties participating in it. Joseph Mooney of Company C, an experienced woodsman and bee hunter from the Adirondacks, was strolling outside of camp, when he came across a party of the Garibaldi Guards, with a bee-hive that they had taken from the apiary of a Virginia farmer. The escaping bees gave the marauders much trouble. Mooney saw their difficulty and, remarking that he understood the habits of bees, told them that he would show them the best way of getting their honey into camp. Thereupon, they invited him to instruct and assist them, which he proceeded to do with a not unselfish interest in the proceedings for, when they turned the hive over to him, he raised it from the base, and threw the bees in handfuls into the faces of the Garibaldians who hastily abandoned their booty. Mooney then shouldered the hive, after stopping the orifices with clay, and, starting for the camp of the Sixteenth, came into one end of his company street just as Colonel Davies and staff rode in at the other. When observed by the colonel, he was ordered to "drop that box" with a vigor that compelled prompt action. Mooney threw the box as far as possible from him, and ran to escape the pursuit of the bees, knowing that those in its vicinity would have something to think about besides inflicting punishment on him. The bees rose in anger and settled on the

colonel, his staff, and their horses, stinging with such fury that those who were not dismounted rode hurriedly away, while the dismounted orderlies followed in great haste. The colonel reached his tent with one eye practically closed, with swollen lips, and in a state of general demoralization which in no way tended to induce him to condone the conduct of the miscreant who had brought the bees into camp. Mooney had not been identified by the colonel, however, and no one aided him in finding the man who had brought in the box which, for a time, sent forth as many evils as the fabled box of Pandora. Mooney, afterwards, in apparent ignorance of the whole transaction, came forward and built a fire of brush, thus disposing of the bees so that the honey was distributed. But the bees were not all killed, and their presence was made known in several beds during the night; the shrieks that came from the occupants were accompanied by words that recall the habits of the "Army in Flanders."

Battle of Blackburn's Ford

While encamped at Centreville, we were in hearing of the battle of Blackburn's Ford which was opened by Colonel Israel B. Richardson's brigade about noon, July 18th. He met the brigade of Longstreet which was early re-enforced by Early's brigade. Richardson was on a reconnaissance to discover the location and strength of the enemy. That object having been attained, Richardson withdrew by command of General Daniel Tyler who had directed the movement in violation of McDowell's orders. The enemy retained his position but did not attempt to pursue. The Confederate forces engaged slightly exceeded the force of Richardson. The Confederate casualties were sixty-eight, and the Union, eighty-two.

The Battle of Bull Run

General Beauregard published his plan of attack on the 20th of July, which was approved by General Joseph E. Johnston at 4 A.M. on the 21st. It provided for an attack upon the Union forces at Centreville by way of Union Mills Ford, McLean's Ford, Mitchell's Ford and the Stone Bridge. He designated the troops to compose the several columns, with the batteries which should accompany each brigade, and the distribution of the cavalry. McDowell's advance put Beauregard on the defensive.

General McDowell ordered all the troops to march, at 2.30 A.M., on the 21st day of July, to their several designated positions, but so many army trains advanced with the troops that the roads became blocked and delayed the movement for three or four hours. Tyler's division, consisting of Schenck's and Sherman's brigades, with Ayres' and Carlisle's batteries, reached the Warrenton turnpike on Bull Run at 6 o'clock, and, at 6.30, fired the signal gun to indicate readiness for action. Keyes' brigade had been halted by General McDowell, two miles in rear of the Run, but was soon sent forward and took a prominent part in the battle; Richardson's brigade, of Tyler's division, was stationed near the left of the line of battle and did not operate with the other brigades of the First Division during the day. Hunter's division, consisting of Andrew Porter's and Burnside's brigades, and Heintzelman's division, consisting of Franklin's, Willcox's and Howard's brigades to which Ricketts' and Arnold's batteries were attached, were sent to the right and, crossing Bull Run near Sudley Springs between 11 and 12 o'clock, engaged the enemy who had marched to resist the flank movement of McDowell's forces. The real contest of the day was made in the vicinity of the Henry House, the Robinson House, the Stone House, and the Stone Bridge, by

the divisions of Hunter and Heintzelman, and the brigades of Keyes and Sherman of Tyler's division. The operations of the Union forces were successful and they steadily gained ground over the Confederate left until 3 o'clock, when reenforcements from Johnston's army checked their advance by an attack on our right flank, which caused the line to break and retire down the hill. Soon the disorder extended to the whole line, with the exception of the regulars, who held a position which enabled the retreating mass to cross the Warrenton Bridge; the retreat soon became a rout, and the right wing returned to Centreville in a panic. The battle was fought principally by the troops of Tyler's, Hunter's and Heintzelman's divisions, consisting of the brigades of Sherman, Schenck, Andrew Porter, Burnside, Franklin, Willcox and Howard.

Blenker's brigade of Miles' division was stationed on the heights east of Centreville, as a reserve; Davies held the extreme left of the Union line near the Grigsby House; at the right of Davies' brigade was Richardson's; and Hunt's Battery M, Second Artillery, with a section of Edwards' battery of the Third Artillery was supported by these brigades. These batteries threw shells over the fords in their front, and against the enemy occupying the right bank of Bull Run, under the command of General Ewell.

About 3 o'clock in the afternoon, Colonel Miles directed Davies to send four companies to feel the strength of the enemy, under command of an experienced officer, emphasizing the words "an experienced officer." There was no one in Davies' command who was experienced in warfare except Captain Tapley of Company B, the junior captain of the Sixteenth who, as a non-commissioned officer of dragoons, had had experience in Indian fighting. Colonel Davies ordered Companies B and G and two companies from the Thirty-first New York regiment to go forward under my

command. The detachment moved off across the field, entered the woods, and exchanged shots with the Confederate pickets, who were members of the Sixth Alabama regiment, under command of Major John B. Gordon, later Lieutenant-General, Confederate States Army. The casualty resulting from this meeting was the wounding of Lieutenant Wilson Hopkins in the heel.

While pressing forward to the left, in which direction the Confederate pickets had retired, Captain Tapley came hurriedly from the right of the line, calling out, "Captain Curtis, why don't you obey the order to retreat?" I replied that I had received no such order. Then Captain Tapley explained to the "experienced officer," that the bugle call was an order to retire. The detachment was marched back to the brigade and, on emerging from the woods, was met by a staff officer, who had ridden in great haste to urge it to rejoin the command at "double quick," as a large body of the enemy were marching down to strike our left flank.

The skirmishing party had just regained the brigade line, when a force under General D. R. Jones, consisting of the Fifth South Carolina, the Seventeenth and the Eighteenth Mississippi regiments, Miller's battery, and Flood's troop of cavalry, attacked Davies' brigade, opening a brisk fire at short range. The only casualties on our side were the killing of Lieutenant Craig, and the wounding of two men of the artillery. The Confederate loss was fourteen killed and sixty-two wounded. The Confederates were repelled by our artillery. Davies ordered that the infantry should not fire until we could see the color of the enemy's eyes; as they did not come near enough for that, the infantry did not fire a shot. Richardson's and Davies' brigades, with the artillery, took position at Centreville, and remained until all the troops which had been engaged on our right had taken up their march to Washington. Davies' brigade marched back

to its old camp near Alexandria, arriving in the afternoon of the 22nd, in time to hold dress parade.

At the first roll call after the Sixteenth returned from Manassas to its camp, Private Joseph B. Rodden of Company K was the only member reported absent. About noon on the 23rd, he came to camp driving thirty head of beef cattle, which had been taken with Davies' brigade on the campaign.

It is probable that in no battle of modern times, in which thirty-five thousand men were engaged, was there so small a number of officers educated in the science and art of war; nor was there a battle which was the nursery of so many who came to great prominence in the profession of arms, as those who rose from the mob-like forces which contended at Manassas. Those who became the most prominent were of the field or line, and generally the junior in years, as well as in rank, of those holding higher commands; the men who attained the greatest success were, chiefly, graduates of the Military Academy. Colonel William T. Sherman gained a place among the world's great generals; Colonel Henry W. Slocum, who commanded a regiment, Colonel Oliver O. Howard, and Colonel Ambrose E. Burnside, who commanded brigades, rose to the command of armies; Colonels Samuel P. Heintzelman, William B. Franklin, Israel B. Richardson, Erasmus D. Keyes, and Orlando B. Willcox rose to the command of corps. A number of captains and lieutenants rose to the command of corps, divisions, and brigades. John A. Logan, a civilian, who had gone out to the field to witness the operations of the day, resigned his seat in Congress, and raised a regiment; he afterward rose to the head of the Union generals who came from civil life. Lieutenant William A. Elderkin, appointed a cadet from Potsdam, New York, who had gone from the graduating exercises at West Point to the battle-field of Bull Run, where he rendered

exceptional services in rescuing the limbers and caissons of Ricketts' battery after the guns had been captured, was highly commended by his battery commander and by the chief of artillery of McDowell's army, and was promoted to a staff department. Colonel Keyes refers to one of his regimental commanders as follows: "I also observed throughout the day the gallantry and excellent conduct of Colonel Alfred H. Terry, Second Connecticut, from whom I received most zealous assistance." Captain Charles Griffin, who rose to the command of a corps, in his report of the operations of his battery at Bull Run, refers to a subordinate as follows: "In addition, I deem it my duty to add that Lieutenant (Adelbert) Ames was wounded so as to be unable to ride his horse at almost the first fire; yet he sat by his command directing the fire, being helped on and off the caisson during the different changes of front or position, refusing to leave the field until he became too weak to sit up." For this he was given a Congressional Medal of Honor, and, later, promoted to be a general officer; in the capture of Fort Fisher he was second in command to General Terry.

General Barnard E. Bee's brigade of Johnston's army came on the field, and checked the steady advance of McDowell's forces by an attack on his right flank, and started the retreat which degenerated into a rout. In this brigade, was the Sixth North Carolina regiment, commanded by Colonel Charles F. Fisher, who was killed in his successful charge to capture Ricketts' battery. General Bee was killed about the same time and General W. H. C. Whiting assumed command of the brigade.

Later, the Confederate authorities honored the memory of Colonel Fisher by naming the fortification, between the Cape Fear River and the Atlantic Ocean, which had been begun by Captain Bolles, Fort Fisher. This fort, under the supervision of General Whiting as chief engineer, be-

came the most important of their sea coast defenses, and was called impregnable until it was captured by the joint expedition on January 15, 1865. Admiral Porter commanded the naval, and General Terry the land, forces; my brigade led the assaulting column. General Whiting, who had been relieved of the command of the Wilmington defenses, went to the fort and tendered his services to Colonel William Lamb, its commander, and, in the hand-to-hand contest for possession of the fourth traverse, received a mortal wound.

On the Confederate side of the battle of Bull Run, there were many who rose to high command and to great prominence during the progress of the war; Thomas J. Jackson, James Longstreet, Richard S. Ewell, and Jubal A. Early were then in command of brigades. Major John B. Gordon, Sixth Alabama rifles, rose to a lieutenant-generalcy, and was recognized as the foremost soldier of the South who came from civil life.

General Gordon relates, in his *Reminiscences*, two interesting incidents which occurred on the Confederate side, where General Ewell's troops were stationed opposite those of Davies and Richardson.

"The most serious one was, that the order from Beauregard to Ewell, directing an assault on the Union left, failed to reach that officer. This strange miscarriage prevented General Ewell from making a movement which, it then seemed probable and now appears certain, would have added materially to McDowell's disaster. I had already been instructed by him to make a reconnaissance in the direction of the anticipated assault, but I had been suddenly recalled just as my skirmishers were opening fire. I was recalled because General Ewell had not received the promised order. For me it was perhaps a most fortunate recall, for in my isolated position I should have probably been surrounded and my little command cut to pieces. I found General Ewell

in an agony of suspense. He would walk rapidly to and fro, muttering to himself, 'no orders, no orders.'

"I can not conclude this imperfect portrayal of the peculiarities of this splendid soldier and eccentric genius without placing upon record one more incident connected with the first battle of Bull Run. While he awaited the order from Beauregard (which never came), I sat on my horse near him, as he was directing the location of a battery to cover the ford and fire upon a Union battery and its supports on the opposite hills.

"As our guns were unlimbered, a young lady, who had been caught between the lines of the two armies, galloped up to where the General and I were sitting on our horses, and began to tell the story of what she had seen. She had mounted her horse just in front of General McDowell's troops, who it was expected would attempt to force a crossing at this point. This Virginian girl, who appeared to be seventeen or eighteen years of age, was in a flutter of martial excitement. She was profoundly impressed with the belief that she really had something of importance to tell. The information which she was trying to convey to General Ewell she was sure would be of vast importance to the Confederate cause, and she was bound to tell it. General Ewell listened to her for a few minutes, and then called her attention to the Union batteries that were rushing into position and getting ready to open fire upon the Confederate lines. He said to her, in his quick, quaint manner: 'Look there, look there, Miss! Don't you see those men with blue clothes on, in the edge of the woods? Look at those men loading those big guns. They are going to fire, and to fire quick, and fire right here. You'll get killed. You'll be a *dead damsel* in less than a minute. *Get away from here!* Get away!' The young woman looked over at the blue coats and the big guns, but paid not the slightest attention to either. Nor did she make any reply to his urgent injunction, 'to get away from here!' but continued the story of what she had seen. General Ewell, who was a crusty old bachelor at that time, and knew far less about women than he did about wild Indians, was astonished at this exhibition of feminine courage. He gazed

at her in mute wonder for a few minutes, and then turned to me suddenly, and, with a sort of jerk in his words, said: 'Women—I tell you sir, women would make a grand brigade—if it were not for snakes and spiders!' He then added much more thoughtfully: 'They don't mind bullets—women are not afraid of bullets; but one big black snake would put a whole army to flight.'"

The fire opened by Major Gordon's skirmishers, just as he was hurriedly recalled, was upon my detachment whose recall was simultaneous with that of Gordon's troops. When the pioneer corps of Davies' brigade was felling trees, to blockade the roads leading to the left of our position, a young woman on horseback rode up to the party and asked, "Why are you obstructing our road?" I answered, "To prevent the approach of those whom we are not ready to receive." She was, no doubt, the young girl who soon after became the heroine of General Gordon's story. Counsellor J. B. T. Thornton of Manassas informs me that the young lady, whose splendid courage was such a revelation to General Ewell, was Miss Oceola Mason, daughter of Dr. J. Seddon Mason, a descendant of the author of the Bill of Rights of Virginia, George Mason of Gunston Hall. She certainly showed the independent spirit and courage of her distinguished progenitor.

General McDowell had at Centreville about thirty thousand men, of which number eighteen thousand were engaged with the enemy. The Confederates had at Manassas about thirty-two thousand men of which number eighteen thousand were engaged. The Confederates lost 387 killed, 1,582 wounded, 13 missing, a total of 1,982. The Union army lost 481 killed, 1,011 wounded, 1,216 missing, a total of 2,708. The Confederates had a much larger cavalry force than the Federals, and its operations at the close very materially increased their list of prisoners. They also had the ad-

vantage of a position selected and mapped out in advance of the action. They were particularly fortunate in obtaining correct information of all contemplated movements of the Union forces. The Confederate commanders were often in possession of orders, issued at Washington, as early as the Union officer to whom they were addressed, particularly at the beginning of the war. Beauregard had McDowell's plans, and the number of his forces, four days before the battle. The Confederate commanders were also supplied with trusty guides to direct them in all operations. This is well illustrated by a paragraph in General Beauregard's report.

"Messrs. McLean, Wilcoxen, Kinchlo, and Brawner, citizens of this immediate vicinity, it is their due to say, have placed me and the country under great obligations for the information relative to this region, which has enabled me to avail myself of its defensive features and resources: they were found ever ready to give me their time without stint or reward."

The Mr. McLean referred to by General Beauregard was the same man at whose house at Appomatox, Generals Grant and Lee met on the 9th of April, 1865, to agree upon the terms for surrendering the army of Northern Virginia.

After the battle of Bull Run, the Confederate and the Union armies were reorganized and changed names. The Confederates consolidated the Army of the Potomac, commanded by General Beauregard, with the Army of the Shenandoah, commanded by General Johnston, and called the combined forces the Army of Northern Virginia. The Army of Northeastern Virginia, commanded by General McDowell, was reorganized by General McClellan and called the Army of the Potomac. These designations continued until the close of the war.

From a strictly military standpoint, the battle of Bull Run was a mistake, but its effect on the country was a blessing,

as our Confederate friends sometimes used to say of their defeats in the latter part of the war. As a military movement it was without justification. The Government had no army with which to make an aggressive campaign. General McDowell had under his command a battalion of marines, numbering three hundred and fifty officers and men, eight companies of infantry, seven companies of cavalry, and nine batteries of artillery, which belonged to the regular military forces of the United States. The remainder of his forces were militia and volunteers, hurriedly brought to the capital, badly organized, and at least nine-tenths of them officered by men wholly without experience in military affairs. All of McDowell's troops, except the few regulars, were brought on to the field almost directly after being mustered into the United States service, without having had time to be drilled or disciplined. Their prompt response to the call of the President was proof of their patriotism, but patriotism, without military training and discipline, cuts a sorry figure in the operations of actual war.

General McDowell, in his testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War,[1] says:

"I had no opportunity to test my machinery, to move it around and see whether it would work smoothly or not. In fact, such was the feeling that, when I had one body of eight regiments of troops reviewed together, the General censured me for it, as if I was trying to make some show. I did not think so. There was not a man there who had ever manœuvred troops in large bodies. There was not one in the army. I did not believe there was one in the whole country. At least I knew there was no one who had ever handled thirty thousand troops. I had seen them handled abroad in reviews and marches, but I had never handled that number, and no one here had. I wanted very

[1] Vol. 3, page 38.

much a little time, all of us wanted it. We did not have a bit of it."

The battle of Bull Run was fought in obedience to a public sentiment, which demanded the immediate suppression of the insurgents who had encamped near the capital, and it was generally believed that an armed force, however organized or equipped for action, would speedily disperse "the unlawful combination." The defeat at Bull Run awakened the people of the North to a realizing sense of the situation, and to the fact that they had to make proper preparation for war, or yield to the demand for a dissolution of the Union. It was after Bull Run that the people were aroused, and that immediate steps were taken to organize a military force at the capital. The history of the Army of the Potomac shows with what result their efforts were crowned.

CHAPTER V

NEW SYSTEM STRICTLY ENFORCED

AFTER returning from Bull Run, the regiments resumed drill and picket duty. On July 25th, Colonel William B. Franklin, Twelfth United States Infantry, assumed command of all troops in, and in advance of, Fort Ellsworth; on the 1st of August, he issued the first order which restricted the free and easy movements of officers and men. The issuing of passes had been under the exclusive jurisdiction of the regimental commanders; this order forbade more than two officers of a regiment and two men of a company to be absent from their camp at the same time; all passes were to expire at 5 P.M. of the day of issue. The effect upon the tide of officers and soldiers going to Washington, was much like erecting barriers in a busy thoroughfare; the steamers, which had been carrying hundreds from Alexandria to Washington, left their docks with few, if any, blue coats, and those refused passage were required to explain their absence from camp without a proper pass. The officers returning to their quarters under arrest would have formed a battalion, and the men who were put into the Alexandria jail tested its capacity; the free-born American citizen, who had volunteered to save the country, began to ascertain that it could only be done by complying with strict military rules, which required every man to be present with his command, or to account for his absence to the proper authority. No time need be given to explain what were the feelings of those who were prevented from enjoying the delights afforded by daily visits to Washington; the Sixteenth did not awaken

to the serious inconvenience of the new order of things until August 3rd, when the regiment was paid for service from May 15th to June 30th. The means having been supplied by which articles necessary to promote their personal comfort could be purchased, a number having "important private business in Washington" started to obtain the indispensable articles, but they were turned back from Colonel Franklin's headquarters in a steady stream, and generally under arrest, for having, "in an unofficer-like manner," sought by frivolous arguments to influence the commanding officer to grant their requests. The surprise of those in camp was raised to fever pitch when Captain Gilmore, whose rectitude and sobriety were proof against every allurement, came into camp and reported himself in arrest, by order of Colonel Franklin. His disappointment was expressed in the words, "by cripes,"—the only "cuss-words" which he was ever known to use. No charges were preferred, and he resumed duty the next morning.

It was at length regarded as a hazardous undertaking to attempt to go to Washington, and when it was understood that I intended making the trial, several officers immediately requested me to execute commissions for them; I did not know that they had laid wagers as to the length of time which would elapse before I returned to camp under arrest. I presented my pass, permitting me to go to Washington "on important private business," to Colonel Davies; he signed it and expressed the hope that Colonel Franklin would approve it. I proceeded to Alexandria and presented it to Colonel Franklin's Adjutant, a first lieutenant of artillery whose hair was a shade brighter than his straps. He took the pass to the Colonel's room and, with an air of impressive satisfaction, returned it to me endorsed, "Disapproved by order of Colonel Franklin." I said, "This is not what I want, will you please procure for me an inter-

view with Colonel Franklin?" He replied,—"If you are very anxious to see Colonel Franklin, I will present your compliments and state your wishes, but if you will take a suggestion from me you will not attempt to see him. He is in no mood to discuss the subject of passes and you will probably be ordered to your regiment." I thanked him for his interest in my welfare and asked him to obtain an interview, which he did. On entering, I found a man about forty years old, intently examining a map. He looked up and when his eyes finally reached mine, I said "I desire to explain to you the necessity of my going to Washington." He replied, "You state that you have important private business; no soldier should have private business to take him away from his official duties, but if you will be brief, you may state why you wish to go to Washington." I told him that I had about three thousand dollars in coin, which the members of my company desired to send home, and that I had given each a check for the amount on the Judson Bank, of Ogdensburg; I now wished to deposit with the United States Treasurer the money given me, and get a draft to send to the bank, to pay the checks as presented.

"An officer should have no financial dealings with the men of his company," he said. I replied,—"I have no other transaction beyond that of getting them to send all the money possible to their friends; the less they have in camp, the better off they will be. I have also commissions to execute for the officers of the regiment who are not able to go to Washington."

"That is a good reason, return to your regiment and get all the commissions that the officers desire to have executed; I will pass you or any other officer to Washington to attend to them." I told him I had as many commissions as I could execute in one day, and that I did not wish to remain in Washington over night; my own business, moreover, could not

be transacted by any other person. "What can that be?" he asked; I replied,—"I have on my best uniform, which as you see, is not suitable for an inspection, and I know of no other person who can represent me at the tailor's in being measured for a suit of clothes." He approved my pass, and in giving it to me said,—"Whenever you need new clothes, I will give you a pass to the tailor."

General Franklin,[1] for he was soon promoted, always recognized me, and to his friendly interest I was indebted for my favorable introduction to General Slocum, the commander of the brigade. From that time to the day of General Slocum's death I had no warmer friend. I was indebted to General Slocum for my promotion, for he, unsolicited, asked Governor Morgan to give me command of one of the first regiments to be raised under the call of 1862, and wrote to his friend William A. Wheeler, requesting him to urge my appointment as colonel. To these two men I have felt that I was indebted, so far as outside influence could go in such matters, for my first advancement in the army.

All of the men residing in the vicinity of Alexandria, who

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[1] There came a time when certain influential politicians in Kansas urged General Franklin, as President of the Board of Managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, to make appointments in the Western Branch to further their purposes; this he declined to do, because it would violate the rule of the board to keep the Home absolutely free from all political or local influences. Their next step was an attempt made in the Fifty-fourth Congress, to prevent his re-election to the board. Failing to prevent his nomination by the Committee on Military Affairs, they carried the contest to the floor of the House of Representatives, where a motion was made to substitute the name of another distinguished soldier, and a lengthy discussion was had. I was a member of the Committee on Military Affairs and, in closing the discussion, was able from a long acquaintance to speak of General Franklin's distinguished services in military and civil life. He was selected by an overwhelming vote, and, some time after leaving Congress, I went on duty under him, as an Assistant Inspector-General of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers.

were of suitable age to perform military duty, had gone into the Confederate army, leaving the women of the several households to manage affairs as best they could. They came in great numbers daily to ask for guards, to make complaints, to sell something, to make inquiries as to the probable duration of the war, and to ask advice as to the best course for them to pursue. The headquarters of regiments encamped on the outer line of our forces had, for the good part of each day, the appearance of an intelligence office and a police station combined. Colonel Davies had his share of these annoyances and said one day when, as officer of the day, I reported for instructions,—"Captain Curtis, if you allow any woman under heaven to approach my quarters, I will have you shot to-morrow morning; no, you shall be shot at sunset to-night." "What shall I do if Mrs. Davies should wish to see you?" "That is an impossibility. She is in New York City, and if any woman, representing herself as Mrs. Davies, is admitted to this camp you will never see another morning." The colonel had a way of affixing impossible penalties to trivial violations, intending, as in this case, to magnify the seriousness of the offense. It is probable that they had the reverse effect and diminished the fear which would otherwise have attended a neglect or violation. He was particularly out of sorts that day and kept close in quarters, which were as silent and blue as a Puritan's Christmas. About 4 o'clock P.M., the sentinel at the gate called, "Corporal of the guard, Post two." I heard the call, and saw, before the corporal reached the gate, that the sentinel had stopped a carriage with a single occupant, one whose admission to the camp I was ordered to prevent if it took every ball cartridge in the regiment. There I found Mrs. Davies, in Lieutenant-General Scott's carriage, with a pass signed by the General-in-Chief.

Taking the pass, I said that I would take the responsibility of escorting her to the colonel's quarters. Assisting Mrs. Davies from her carriage and opening the colonel's door, I said, "Colonel Davies, I present the proof of the violation of your order, and am prepared for execution." I passed her in, closed the door, and waited on the porch for the colonel's orders. He soon came out, and said,—"Your disobedience of orders and wilful insubordination can only be excused by your accepting Mrs. Davies' invitation to dine with us this evening." This incident was not forgotten, and was always recalled when I visited them in their New York home or at Black Lake, where he and Mrs. Davies spent many summers, and where, after four score and ten years, he was laid at rest, in the mausoleum erected on the banks of the lake about which, in youth and later life, he had spent many days with rod and gun. When advised by his physician that death was near he welcomed the announcement with trusting confidence, and in words recalling his early military training and the habits of his active business life, said: "The books are posted. I am ready for inspection and the grand review."

"Of no distemper, of no blast he died,
But fell like Autumn fruit that mellow'd long,
Even wonder'd at, because he dropped not sooner.
Fate seemed to wind him up for fourscore years,
Yet freshly ran he on ten Winters more;
Till like a clock worn out with beating time
The wheels of weary life at last stood still."

The 11th day of August, 1861, was the black-letter day in the history of the Sixteenth. Lieutenant-Colonel Marsh, the regimental commander, called on Colonel Davies and stated that he was very much perplexed as to what action he should take on information he had received that the men

would refuse to do duty after the 15th. They had come to believe that they were entitled to be discharged at the expiration of three months from the day on which they were mustered in. Colonel Davies said,—"If you do not know what to do, form the regiment on the color line, and I will assume command for a short time." Lieutenant-Colonel Marsh at once ordered the regiment, including the old guard and two reliefs of the new, to parade at 9.30 A.M. Colonel Davies assumed command, and Adjutant Howland read the following order:—

"HEADQUARTERS, SIXTEENTH NEW YORK, Aug. 11, 1861.

"It is with sorrow that the colonel of this regiment has been informed that the troops have received the impression that their time of enlistment expires on the 15th instant, and that they are denominated 'three months' troops' instead of 'two years' men.' This impression is the result of the efforts of studious enemies of our cause, to breed dissatisfaction and to produce confusion.

"There is no foundation for this report, nor has it entered the mind of any officer that such could by any possibility be the case. You, fellow soldiers, and myself and other officers, raised our right hands in the presence of Almighty God and swore to serve the country, to faithfully obey the orders of the President of the United States, for the term of two years from the 15th day of May, 1861, unless sooner discharged. You have crowned yourselves with honor and glory in the battles through which we have passed. Do not, then, disgrace yourselves and your officers by any such subterfuge."

After Adjutant Howland had read the orders, the colonel walked down the line and asked each man if he would obey the orders of his superior officers for the term of two years from the 15th of May, 1861. Affirmative responses were promptly made by all but two, who said they desired to know whether they were legally bound to serve for two years; and, if so, they were ready faithfully to perform

every duty until the expiration of that time. The parade was dismissed, and harmony and good order were resumed, never again to be disturbed.

The absurd belief that the regiment could not legally be held for more than three months, was entertained by three-fourths of the men, the exceptions being Company B and a few in other companies who accepted the views of their captains. An explanation is due. It was ascertained that the Twelfth, the Thirteenth, the Twenty-first and the Twenty-sixth New York regiments had been mustered in by Captain W. L. Elliott, for a term of three months, although enlisted for the term of two years, and that on the 2nd of August these regiments were ordered to be mustered for the remaining portion of their two years' enlistment. Certain members of Company A had submitted the question to Henry G. Foote, a prominent lawyer of Ogdensburg, New York, who had advised the men that they were a part of the militia of the State, as specifically stated in the Act of April 16, 1861, and, therefore, could not be retained in service longer than ninety days.

Although chronologically out of its order, an incident which occurred within a fortnight of the close of the regiment's term of service, is worthy of mention here.

When on the 28th day of April, 1863, the Sixteenth left its camp to take part in the military operations which culminated, on May 3rd, in the battle of Salem Heights, Virginia, *there was no hesitancy*; in that action their valor was proved by their losses, for when paraded to receive the thanks of their commanders, less than one-half of those who had answered the roll call on that April morning were in the ranks to hear the commendations bestowed. The absentees were accounted for,—"killed or wounded in front of Salem Church."

CHAPTER VI

THE BUILDING OF FORTS ELLSWORTH AND LYON

ON August 12, 1861, General McDowell ordered a redistribution of the troops of the Army of Northeastern Virginia, directing that "Heintzelman's brigade, the Seventh, should consist of the Sixteenth, the Twenty-sixth and the Twenty-seventh New York and the Fifth Maine, and, in the absence of the brigade commander, the senior colonel to act in that capacity." Under this order Colonel Davies assumed command of the brigade; General Heintzelman never took command; Adjutant Howland of the Sixteenth continued to act as Acting Assistant Adjutant-General.

One of the most disagreeable of our experiences at Camp Vernon was the execution of a soldier at Fort Ellsworth, under the supervision of our brigade commander, which all the troops in that vicinity were paraded to witness. I had been on a long tour of duty, and returned to the camp on the morning of the day this was to take place. The first knowledge I had of the execution was given me by an officer, who came to my tent to congratulate me on returning in time to witness an event which, he said, would be of great service in promoting the morale and discipline of the regiments attending it; he expressed his regret that he was ordered to go on picket and would be unable to see the execution. I proposed to take his detail for picket, if he would arrange it at headquarters, and so enable him to witness a sight which would be very painful to me. He expressed

his delight at the proposition, regretting that I should lose so rare an opportunity. I went on picket, and, on my return to camp, heard the comments of many who saw the execution. From that time I began a careful study of the results of capital punishment, and soon came to believe that it was not only not beneficial, but a positive injury, in the administration of both military and civil law. I say this from a consideration of the subject as a practical question affecting the good order of society, without reference to it as an ethical one.

At this time the regiment furnished, once in four days, one hundred and fifty men for picket duty, fifty daily to work on Fort Ellsworth, and twenty-five daily to cut trees and clear the ground for Fort Lyon. On August 22nd, General McClellan reviewed the brigade and was treated to a sham-battle. Colonel Davies was confident that manœuvres of this character were useful in fitting the men for actual war, but his superiors entertained a different opinion, disapproving of the substitution of any other movements for those prescribed in the tactics.

One of the most interesting characters in that part of Virginia was George Mason; he was a typical representative of an old and distinguished family which, from the early colonial days, had furnished in every generation one or more occupants of important official positions in the State or the Federal governments. His residence at Spring Bank, a mile south of Hunting Creek, was a spacious brick house, with all the appointments belonging to the days of early opulence, and was noted for that splendid hospitality which carried good cheer and the highest social recognition. He was of the old school, a man of culture and extensive reading, and of frigid dignity; he had been for many years the Chief Justice of the Court of Fairfax County, and the solemnity of his bearing comported with the dignity of judicial

procedure in open court. I was in charge of a picket post near his house, when one of his servants brought me a letter addressed to the officer in command, written in a large round hand, and sealed with the family arms. It was a request that I should call at his house, that he might acquaint me with certain trespasses committed by soldiers who had entered his yard and garden. I was shown into his library, and he proceeded to tell me of the annoyance given him by men in uniform walking about his premises, and requested me to ask the responsible officer to prevent the recurrence of such depredations; he had suffered no loss, simply did not wish to see a blue coat on his place. Desiring to get a clue to his character, I asked if I might look at his library, for, if one lacks opportunity of personal contact, there is no better guide to the understanding of a man than the books he reads, and I found here the best private library which I saw in Virginia. While encamped in his neighborhood, I received several letters from him, and often called, and heard him express his surprise that northern Democrats should advise, or take part in, the war. He was especially grieved that Daniel S. Dickinson of New York, whom he had known well when Dickinson was in the United States Senate, should be one of the number. His heart was nearly broken when the axemen of the pioneer corps began to fell his magnificent oaks, which obstructed the range of the guns of Fort Lyon. He had sold to a New Jersey Quaker, before the war, a farm, which was part of "Hollin Hall" the great Mason estate north of Mount Vernon; and when the thrifty Quaker asked Mr. Mason, if he would receive payment on mortgages in advance of their falling due, he said,—"Certainly, I will invest the money in Virginia bonds, they will be good always." "But," said his Quaker friend, "if there should be war, they may not be good." He replied,—"Never fear, when Virginia bonds are sold at a discount, all

securities will be depreciated, and Federal securities will be the lowest of any."

Although encamped, in the winter of 1862–3, near enough to see his place in going to Alexandria, I did not have the heart to call upon him, for I saw his house standing in a great waste. He was reduced to the greatest destitution in his later years, and lived to taste the bitterness of defeat which he bore as became a Mason, without asking for sympathy or yielding aught of his belief in the sovereignty of Virginia. His high social position and judicial character gave his opinions great weight, not only in that section but in all parts of Virgina; his endorsement of an individual carried safety and respectful consideration, and his condemnation brought discomfort and tribulation. In the exciting period following the "John Brown Raid," he had taken a strong interest in the welfare of his Quaker friend Mr. E. C. Gibbs, who never failed to show to Mr. Mason, in his disastrous days, that benevolence which carried nourishment to the destitute and sound counsel to the discordant. The excited state of public feeling in Virginia at that time is well illustrated by the following letter from Mr. Mason:

"Mr. E. C. Gibbs,
Hollin Hall, Virginia.

Dear Sir,—I have been very desirous of seeing you for some time past, to have a frank and free conversation about passing events. But rarely going from home, I have not met with you. The late arrests of some Northern men of long residence in this county, charged with offences which, if proven, will consign them to the penitentiary, their families to disgrace and perhaps ruin, and the consequent mistrust and suspicion that is excited throughout the community against all Northern people, have induced me to ask an interview with you, whom I believe to be true and loyal to the State of your adoption. I want to be able to speak advisedly, when these subjects are mentioned, and not see the

good and worthy classed indiscriminately with Traitors and Incendiaries.

"Be assured, the kindest feelings alone have prompted me to address you this note, and nothing but a confident belief in the integrity of your character and correctness of your feelings and sentiment could have induced me to do so.

"As next Monday is a holiday, and we shall both be at leisure, I will be very glad to see you here on that day to converse on these things.

"G. Mason.

"Spring Bank, Virginia, Saturday, Dec. 24, 1859."

"N. B. This note, as you will perceive, was written on Christmas Eve, and would have been then sent down, but my servants applied to go to town and I do not like to refuse them, since we have been in the holidays. I send it now, and shall be glad to see you whenever convenient.

"G. M."

I do not recall the names of any other members of the old and influential families who remained in their homes near Alexandria; all had left before, or immediately after, the arrival of Union troops. There were several large estates, with mansions which denoted that they had been erected in a period of prosperity much greater than that prevailing at the beginning of the war; these were left in the keeping of servants, or agents, who were unable to protect them and, by the second year, nothing of value was left in or about them.

We found the members of the Quaker Meeting, who had settled in Virginia in the forties and fifties, an industrious, Union-loving people who abhorred war, but were ever ready to care for our sick, supply us with fruits and vegetables and do all that was possible to promote our well-being. I have cause to remember all of them for kindness shown to

me and to the members of my company, and, especially, Edward Curtis Gibbs, at whose home my wife passed three months, while I was with my regiment on the Peninsula.

My first scouting beyond our lines, in the region of Accotink, was under the guidance of a lad, Lewis Gillingham, who is now an elder in the "Quaker Meeting." He did not volunteer, we met by accident, he led the way and obeyed instructions.

Pohick Church

A notable relic of Colonial days is Pohick Church, which stands near the Richmond Road, twelve miles southwest from Alexandria, on a hill, overlooking Pohick Creek. It was built by the people of a parish which included the most important families residing between the Rappahannock and the Potomac rivers. Among the traditions of that section is one that fixes the date, and gives the cause, of the differences which existed between George Mason and George Washington. The Masons were, not only in their own estimation, but by the general consent of their neighbors, among the first of the distinguished families of Virginia, and it was generally conceded that an opinion expressed by George Mason, of Gunston Hall, was worthy of acceptance without discussion. When the old frame church was no longer fit for use, the parishioners were called together to decide on a site for a new church. Mr. George Mason recommended the old site, near Gunston Hall; this proposition was antagonized by Colonel Washington, who advised that one be selected farther from the Potomac and nearer the centre of the (Truro) parish. The brilliancy of Colonel Washington's service in the late campaigns was a factor not so potent as the oratory and social influence of Mr. Mason; and Colonel Washington saw, during the delivery of Mason's address, that he had no chance of winning in a debate with

him. When Mr. Mason sat down, Colonel Washington said he assumed that all would agree that the interests of the parish as a whole should determine the question of location, and offered to survey the parish, and bring to an adjourned meeting a map showing its geographical centre. To this fair proposition, Mr. George Mason saw the necessity of yielding; when the meeting was held, Colonel Washington produced a map, showing that the site he had at first proposed was the centre of the parish.

This site was selected, and on the north bank of Pohick Creek, two miles west of the old church, the brick church was erected, in 1773. It is said that George Mason went away from the meeting ruminating on the old saying,—"Mathematics is an exact science, but nothing will lie like figures, when manipulated by an expert." He prudently accepted the inevitable, for he knew that the suggestion of an error in the map would require him to defend his assumption on a field where his successful rival would have as great an advantage as he had derived from the use of the surveyor's chain.

At no time in their after life did these gentlemen co-operate in matters touching their personal interests; their plantations adjoined, but as late as 1861, when we picketed the country embracing the plantations of George Washington and of George Mason, it was easy to see the fences built by each, running parallel along the entire boundary line of their lands. Great changes had taken place during the eighty-eight years from the erection of Pohick Church to the arrival of the Union army to preserve the republic which Washington was foremost in establishing. The great estates had been subdivided, the opulence enjoyed by the early proprietors had departed, and much of the territory had come into the possession of men who sprang from a different ancestry.

A large part of the Mount Vernon estate had been purchased by Quakers from Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York, who brought with them a thrift and an improved system of farming not previously practised in this part of Virginia. With plantations embracing thousands of acres, it was a common practice, in the earlier days, to clear a field and cultivate it for a term of years. When the native fertility was so exhausted that remunerative crops could not be grown, these fields were turned out to grow up with a second crop of timber, mostly pine and cedar, and new clearings were made by removing the original growth of deciduous trees, chiefly oak and chestnut. The system of restoring fertility by applying home-made or purchased fertilizers to the lands under cultivation, now introduced by the farmers from the North, brings them generous rewards for their industry, as is shown in a prosperity which gives evidence of domestic comfort and increasing wealth.

In 1861, the controversy growing out of the selection of the new site for the church had been forgotten by all except those who cherished the traditions of their ancestors, and, with the passage of the leading families, there also passed an interest in the church itself. The parish was poor, and the few communicants had a hard struggle to live in this world, a struggle so hard that they had little to spare for repairing this venerable edifice; hence it was, on our first visit, in worse condition than when visited by Bishop Meade, in 1837. From his account, "*Old Churches and Families of Virginia*,[1]" I extract the following:—

"My next visit was to Pohick Church, in the vicinity of Mount Vernon, the seat of General Washington. I designed to perform service there on Saturday, as well as Sunday; but, through some

[1] Vol. ii., p. 227.

mistake, no notice was given for the former day. The weather, indeed, was such as to prevent the assemblage of any but those who prize such occasions so much as to be deterred only by very strong considerations. It was still raining when I approached the house and found no one there. The wide-open doors invited me to enter, as they do invite, day and night, through the year, not only the passing traveler but every beast of the field and foul of the air. These latter, however, seemed to have reverenced the House of God, since few marks of their pollution are to be seen throughout. The interior of the house, having been well built, is still good. The chancel, communion table, tables of the law, etc., are still there, and in good order. The roof only is decaying, and, at the time I was there, the rain was dropping on these sacred places, and on other parts of the house. On the doors of the pews, in gilt letters, are still to be seen the names of the principal families which once occupied them. How could I, while for at least an hour traversing these long aisles, entering the sacred chancel, ascending the lofty pulpit, forbear to ask:—and is this the House of God which was built by the Washingtons, the Masons, the McCartys, the Grahams, the Lewises, the Fairfaxes?—the house in which they used to worship the God of our fathers, according to the venerable forms of the Episcopal Church, and some of whose names are yet to be found on these deserted pews? Is this also destined to moulder piece-meal away, or when some signal is given, to become the prey of spoilers, to be carried hither and thither and applied to every purpose under Heaven?

"Surely patriotism, or reverence for the greatest of patriots, if not religion, might be effectually appealed to in behalf of this one temple of God. The particular location of it is ascribed to Washington, who, being an active member of the vestry when it was under consideration and in dispute where it should be placed, carefully surveyed the whole parish, and, drawing an accurate and handsome map of it with his own hand, showed clearly where the claims of justice and the interest of religion required its erection."

The pious wish of the good Bishop has borne fruit; yet the condition of the church, when I last saw it in 1896, showed the need of its being generously remembered by those who venerate the memory of Washington, and "worship the God of our fathers according to the venerable forms of the Episcopal Church."

On August 31, 1861, three and one-half months from muster in, the regiment had gained one officer by appointment, and fifty-two recruits; in the same time it had lost by death, discharge, and desertion, sixty-five. It was evident that no military operations would take place for some time, and the following named officers were detailed on recruiting service between that date and the 22nd of November:— Major Buel Palmer, Captains Nevin, Palmer, Parker, Stetson, Gilmore, Curtis, Seaver and Wood; Lieutenants Van Ness, Hopkins, Barney, Jones, Moore and Webster; Assistant-Surgeon Mooers, Sergeants Merry of Company A, and Burdick of Company C. These officers were gone from twenty to sixty days, enlisting and bringing to the regiment two hundred and forty-six recruits, of which number eighteen were enlisted as musicians. These musicians were organized as a regimental band, and were so reported on the morning report of October 23, 1861; they brought their instruments, and did much to relieve the weariness and monotony of our five months at Camp Franklin.

Probably no hospital, in or near Alexandria, cared for more of the Sixteenth than the hospital on Fairfax Street, under charge of Dr. James Robertson. Benjamin Hallowell, of the Society of Friends, taught school in that house for many years; he made a specialty of preparing young men for college, and for the Military Academy at West Point and the Naval Academy at Annapolis. No one of them rose to greater prominence than Robert E. Lee, who was there prepared to enter West Point.

Under the regulations in force in the fall and winter of 1861–2, no man could be taken from his quarters, or from the regimental hospital, to one of the general hospitals, without a permit from the brigade surgeon. It so happened that I returned from a detail of a week's duration and found four men of my company sick with typhoid fever, and, it was thought, past recovery; my request, that they should be sent to the Fairfax Street hospital, was declined, on the ground that they were past relief. I called on Dr. Robertson, who was under orders to receive no one unless sent by a superior medical officer, and asked him if he had beds unoccupied; he took me into two rooms, in which there were eight or ten vacant beds. "Doctor," I said, "is there no means by which I can get my sick men into these beds?" "I can not tell you, but I will take you down the back stairs and out to the street: there is no guard at the back door. If I find any sick men in those beds, I will not put them out, I assure you." Finding an ambulance driven by one of my company, I took two of the sick men to the back door of Dr. Robertson's hospital, and carried them, in my arms, up three flights of stairs. When I returned with the others, I found that the first two had been washed and put into hospital dress. The doctor gave me little encouragement, as all four were mentally disturbed; they, nevertheless, recovered and were discharged from the service. One, Samuel Wardell, regained his health at home, reenlisted, lost a leg in Fort Stedman, March, 1865, and died in 1897; another, James Chaffee, died in 1898; Dennis Turner lives in Nebraska; and Daniel Austin in California. Many who died in camp might have lived, had they been treated as skilfully as Dr. Robertson treated these men. He will be referred to again in this volume.

Major John Newton, United States Engineers, later Major-General United States Volunteers, laid out Fort Lyon, and,

on the 6th of September, our brigade began its construction; he lifted the first spade of soil, gave the spade to me to take the second, and the detail of which I had charge was put to work. Some time later, when I was on detail again, I learned that several men had become intoxicated by drinking the rations of others, in addition to the one-half gill of whiskey allowed to each man, when called off for dinner; so I ordered the commissary sergeant to allow no one more than one ration of whiskey, and to issue it only to members of the detail. Near the close of the issue, a man in civilian dress, with the exception of a pair of soldier's trousers, came to me and said that the commissary sergeant had refused him his whiskey ration. I said that I had instructed the Sergeant to serve no one who was not a member of the detail. He replied,—"I am an officer, and a member of all details from my regiment. I am not obliged to supervise the men in digging or in drilling, but to guide them in spiritual affairs and watch over them to see that they are not subjected to immoral influences;— I am Chaplain of the Twenty-sixth New York." He was identified by members of the regiment as their chaplain, and was served with his much coveted ration of whiskey, from which he drew the inspiration for his Sunday labors, and for the articles which he published under the name of Q. K. Philander Doesticks, P. B. He said the college which had conferred his degree, registered him in full, as Queer Kritter Philander Doesticks, Perfect Brick. Congress later required that all chaplains should be regularly ordained ministers of some religious denomination.

General Henry W. Slocum assumed command of our brigade on September 9th, and recommended Adjutant Howland's promotion to the rank of Captain and Assistant Adjutant-General, United States Volunteers, to be assigned to his brigade staff; and First Lieutenant Frederick F. Wead,

Sixteenth New York, was detailed as aide-de-camp. The vacancy created by Adjutant Howland's promotion was filled by advancing Second Lieutenant Robert P. Wilson. The regiment now left Camp Vernon, and made, near Fort Lyon, the best camp of its entire term of service. We did our tours of picket duty and gave some attention to drilling; but our chief employment was the building of Fort Lyon, on which details from the brigade worked eight hours daily, including Sundays, for a portion of the time.

On October 3rd, Colonel Christian, Twenty-sixth New York, went out in command of a detachment from the brigade, under instructions to capture the enemy's pickets stationed at Pohick Church. No pickets were captured but some private property was brought into camp, much to the annoyance of General Slocum who issued a very severe order against pillaging, condemning in strong words the unsoldierly conduct of those who had obtained property without paying for it. Eighteen officers of the Sixteenth, who had not been participators in the disorderly conduct referred to by General Slocum's order, felt that its terms were a reflection on them as well as on those whose conduct caused it to be issued, as it was a general order addressed to all; and in a state of great indignation they united in a letter to General Slocum, demanding the revocation of the order. Their communication was acknowledged by an order placing them all in close arrest in their tents. Not having placed the same construction on General Orders, No. 26, I was able to carry verbal and written communications to General Slocum, the tenor of which soon healed the difficulty, after due apologies, and all were in a short time restored to duty.

Slocum's brigade was moved, on October 14th, to a new camp near Fairfax Seminary, where it remained until the beginning of the campaign of 1862. In close proximity to us were General Philip Kearny's brigade of the First,

the Second, the Third and Fourth New Jersey Volunteers; General John Newton's brigade of the Eighteenth, the Thirty-First and Thirty-Second New York; and the Ninety-fifth Pennsylvania. These brigades, with Colonel McReynold's First New York Cavalry: Platt's Battery D, Second United States Artillery; Porter's Battery A, Massachusetts Artillery; Hexamer's Battery A, New Jersey Artillery; and Wilson's Battery F, First New York Artillery, composed General William B. Franklin's division.

CHAPTER VII

WINTER QUARTERS

DURING our eleven days in Washington, much of the time had been taken up in review, parades, and the exchanging of arms, and the five days near Alexandria were spent in building camp, picketing, and the expedition to Mount Vernon; so that little attention had been given to drilling before we advanced to Bull Run, and, on returning from Manassas, we had at once gone to work building Forts Ellsworth and Lyon. Not until the regiment moved to Camp Franklin did it have an opportunity to learn and practise the duties pertaining to a soldier's life; there, in the middle of October, five months from its muster into the United States Service, it began, in a systematic manner, the work of perfecting itself in drill and in the technic of its profession.

There are two great and important lessons to be acquired in military life, first,—the proper care of oneself, for efficiency depends upon good health; and, second,—the acquirement of proficiency in technical duties, so that in the operations of a regiment each of its units will move as by a single impulse, concentrating and emphasizing the numerical strength of the entire body. In observing the first, we proceeded to make our quarters, which were occupied during the fall and winter, as comfortable as possible with the material at hand. The company tents were raised on logs or frame work, two or three feet from the ground, banked or plastered with clay, a floor was laid and a fire-place built

in each, so that we were made comfortable to a degree little suspected by our friends at home.

The tours of picket duty for a regiment came a little oftener than once a month, and lasted four days. The detail carried one day's cooked rations in haversacks, and one ration was sent out each day thereafter from camp. Evening schools were established, two a week, under the supervision of the colonel, for the instruction of commissioned officers in battalion and brigade drill, in the making of returns and in the *Army Regulations;* and the same number weekly, under the supervision of a company officer, for the instruction of non-commissioned officers in company and battalion drill and guard duty. Hardee's *Tactics* and the *Army Regulations* were the text books. The regiment drilled twice daily, except Sundays, either in company, battalion, or brigade manœuvres.

The colonel was greatly annoyed when the manœuvres were not properly executed. He accepted, for a time, the usual explanation,—that his commands were not distinctly heard, and, to prevent further trouble in that line, gave orders that his commands should be repeated by commanders of divisions, when moving in column. The colonel was not, in the usual acceptation of that term, a profane man, yet, on some occasions, he did use words indicative of a troubled spirit and deep dissatisfaction which were not easily expressed in Sunday school text. One day, on battalion drill, he discovered some irregularity in the division commanded by Captain Stetson, and called out vigorously, "why in h— Captain Stetson, does not your division dress up?" Captain Stetson repeated to his division the colonel's exact words, and turned in time to report to the colonel, as he rode down the column,—"Sir, I have repeated your command." The colonel looked at him for a moment, and then rode away without speaking. At the evening session

of the school, Colonel Davies said, "It is not intended that any, except strictly military commands, shall be repeated on drill." Captain Stetson spoke up and said, "I have supposed that you wished your commands repeated as you pronounced them; if that is not to be the rule, I may not be able to distinguish the emphasizing phrases from the purely military ones, especially when we are executing difficult manœuvres."

We were not associated with drilled and disciplined soldiers. The twelve regiments of infantry in Franklin's division were, like our own, from civil life, and in Slocum's brigade there were but two officers educated in the science and art of war, and only five or six in the entire division. These officers labored faithfully to instruct their subordinates, and it would be difficult to overestimate the value of the labors of Generals Franklin, Slocum, Newton, Kearny, and Davies; what they did, in fitting the regiments under their command for active service, is best shown in the character of their performance in the field. This division became the nucleus of the Sixth Corps, and the simple mention of "the Sixth Corps of the Army of the Potomac" is enough to recall the high encomiums paid to it by all who saw it in action or who have read its history.

Every man is not endowed by nature with the qualities essential to the making of a good soldier, and it is not in the province of barbers, tailors, drill sergeants or schools to make him one, unless the elements are born in him. Most men can be taught to act fairly well under fire and to go through the ordinary routine of the service, but only a few can come up to the high standard of a good soldier, one who leads his men and keeps the reluctant up to their work.

I quote the description of a good soldier from the *History of the Fifth Maine*, by the Reverend Geo. W. Bicknell,

D.D.[1] He was the adjutant of his regiment, which was brigaded with the Sixteenth from September, 1861, to the close of the Sixteenth's term of service, and is remembered as one made of "good stuff."

"A true soldier belongs to a distinct class of the human family. He glories in the possession of a knowledge of what his duty is, and in its faithful performance. He feels proud of his shining musket when he knows that it is sure at five hundred yards. He looks upon his polished equipments with an ill-concealed satisfaction. He steps with a feeling of superiority, sensible that it requires a man of heart, courage, and muscle to make a good soldier. He looks upon dandies and walking tailor shops with the deepest scorn and contempt. He thinks it is beneath him to respect the civilian very much, unless he be too old to be a soldier like himself, yet women he worships and adores. His lady is the world to him. He fights with the memory of her smile ever before him. He dies with her name trembling on his lips. The rich man and the poor man are alike to him. He spends his hard-earned money with the air of a millionaire, and yet he is benevolent and generous to a fault. His motto, a short life and a merry one. But, generally, the life of a soldier is brilliant on paper, reads well in verse, sounds sweetly from the rostrum, reflects glaringly in imagination, has a dashing romance around it; yet the *reality* savors far differently. 'The brave sentinel treading his beat, and at his post dreaming waking dreams in reverie of home and loved ones,' is far more likely to be tearing and swearing because the relief don't come around, than to be indulging in sentimentalities. The soldier, 'boldly bearing the musket rusty with use and black with battle-stained smoke,' will be sure to be in the guard house if said musket is not bright and clean for Sunday morning inspection. That 'blood-stained hero with soiled

[1] After Adjutant George W. Bicknell was discharged from the service on account of wounds, he entered the Theological School of St. Lawrence University from which he graduated in 1866. In 1898, he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity from his *alma mater*. Northern New York holds him in high esteem and warm fraternal regard.

garments,' will have to have a new suit before the next dress parade; and if he overdraws his allowance will have to pay for it too. The one is poetical, the other actual reality."

I do not recall that any one of the brave men whom I knew in the army, whose courage was unquestioned and who were always ready to obey orders unflinchingly, ever expressed a wish to march on the enemy and engage him in battle, from the mere desire to get into a fight; but I do recall the names of men who were constantly complaining because the army did not move, so that they could give the enemy a good thrashing; yet, when the chance came to meet in battle, the valiant-mouthing warrior did not improve the opportunities. I do not mean to say that the impatient warriors did not fight, but I have believed that circumstances, beyond their control, had more to do with their getting into battle than their spontaneous feelings.

I once knew a Scotch lad, who got into difficulty in attempting to relieve one of his countrymen who was confined in the guard house for intoxication. He first applied to the officer of the day; that failing, he went to the colonel, and, through his intemperate language, was sent to keep his friend company. He had thereafter a strong disinclination to remain in my company, but bided his time for making his feelings known. The opportunity came when he heard an officer say that he wanted to get at the enemy without further delay; this was a few weeks before the regiment entered upon the campaign of 1862. Sergeant Partridge of my company, who had heard this belligerent statement, asked me if I felt that way. I replied that I was willing to wait for the orders of those who knew when to move better than I did. My Scotch boy broke out, "I thought so." When asked what he meant by that he said that he did not wish to tell, but expressed a wish to be transferred to

the company of the officer who wanted to fight. He was asked to come into my quarters and state there the cause of his discontent. He again replied that he dared not tell, for fear of punishment, but having been promised immunity for what he might say, he said, "I wish to leave your company, because I do not believe that you wish to fight. I want to go with men who do." I told him that I could not spare him, for I felt confident he would do his duty, but, that if he would come to me when a battle was to be fought, I would let him go and fight in the company he named; he was not satisfied and went away in bad humor. He was in the thickest of the fight at West Point, Virginia, on May 7th, and tried to help me off the field when I was wounded. After the battle, he came in great haste to see me before I died, as he was informed by the field-surgeon that I was mortally wounded, and stood outside the cottage in which I lay, crying like a child, because the surgeon would not let him in. When my attention was called to his weeping I requested that he be admitted. He came in, put his arms about my neck, and asked if I would forgive him for what he had said in Camp Franklin. I did not see him again, for in the battle of Gaines's Mill, Virginia, June 27, 1862, he received a mortal wound.

On November 11, 1861, Colonel Davies ordered an election to fill the vacancy of major. He sent for me before the meeting and requested me to be a candidate, stating that there would be others competing for the position; he frankly stated his preference for Captain Seaver, but insisted that a contest should be made. On my expressing unwillingness to enter a contest in opposition to his choice, he sent for my lieutenants and requested them to get all the support possible for their captain. Captain Gilmore's name was also presented and a spirited contest was made, which ended, with the third ballot, in the selection of Captain Seaver. I have

never been able to discover the colonel's object in having several candidates, when he held the result in his own hands. All excitement subsided with the announcement of the last ballot, and Major Seaver entered upon the duties of his new rank with the good will of all. It was of no importance in itself that he was outranked by seven captains in the regiment, for he was one of six, appointed on the same day, who drew lots for rank. Stetson, Gilmore, Curtis, Gibson, Seaver, and Wood drew in the order named, and took rank accordingly. Captains Nevin and Parker had no competitors; Pomeroy and Palmer were appointed the same day, and, in drawing, Pomeroy won. Captain Palmer had declined to have his name used in the contest for major; he came from Clinton County and was recognized as one of the best captains in the regiment.

The regiment had been reviewed by General Franklin, and the brigade by General McClellan; but the review of the whole army by President Lincoln and General McClellan, at Bailey's Cross Roads, on November 20th, was the most important event which took place between the battle of Bull Run and the beginning of the spring campaign. The important part of General Slocum's order for the review reads as follows:—

"It is expected that this command will appear with knapsacks (light) and great coats, but without blankets, with haversacks and twenty rounds of ball cartridge. The men will be provided with one meal of cooked provisions in haversacks, and will carry their canteens, which will be filled with fresh water before leaving camp. The brigade will be formed at precisely 8.30 o'clock A.M., on the ground of the last review.

"The general commanding this brigade requests that regimental commanders spare no pains to insure the neat and soldier-like appearance of their troops on this occasion. The officers will not wear epaulettes."

On this day, the Sixteenth regiment reported its maximum number in its whole term of service;—present for duty, 748; present on special duty, unassigned recruits, in arrest, and sick 193; absent 22; a grand total of 963. Of this number, 669 were in the review. This was a proud day for the Army of the Potomac; its cavalry, artillery, and infantry, to the number of seventy thousand men, were brought together for the first time, and passed in review before its great organizer and the Commander-in-Chief. President Lincoln now saw the raw regiments, which had passed before him on their arrival at the Capital, transformed into a drilled and disciplined army. For more than two hours, the President, escorted by the General-in-Chief and his staff, rode through the lines of battalions and batteries from the Eastern, the Middle, and the Western States; then, for a longer time at the reviewing stand, he watched them march by with firm step and unbroken cadence, with the bearing and dignified deportment of men schooled in the profession of arms.

The soldiers' side of this grand ceremony is well told by Lieutenant Albert M. Barney of the Sixteenth, later Colonel of the One Hundred and Forty-second New York, and Brevet Brigadier-General United States Volunteers, in a letter to his sister:—

"The grand review, which you of course have read of, was a truly grand affair, and must have been a splendid scene to look upon for those who took no part in the parade, for there is really hard work in such ceremonies. For instance, our regiment marched six miles to the reviewing ground with knapsacks, twenty rounds of ball cartridges, haversacks with dinner, and canteens with water. After arriving, we stood in the mud ankle deep for over two hours, waiting for the balance of the forces to take their positions. We stood at 'attention' while the President and General McClellan and his staff made the rounds of the entire force, and it was no small task to ride past seventy thousand men in

line of battle. After that we waited for about half the number to pass, before our turn came to march by the reviewing stand, from which we made a circuit of two miles, to reach the road which led to our camp; and when we reached it, all felt we had performed a hard day's work."

On November 26th, the Twenty-sixth New York was transferred to another division, and the Ninety-sixth Pennsylvania took its place in Slocum's brigade. We were sorry to lose our friends of the Twenty-sixth. We had not been called into battle during our association, but we had, nevertheless, a strong belief in their trustworthiness, and read with no surprise of their fortitude and valor at the second Manassas, and again at Fredericksburg, where their losses place them high on the list of heavy sufferers in action. The Ninety-sixth was a good regiment, bore its share of the hardships through which we passed, and did its part in winning the honors bestowed upon Slocum's, and later upon Bartlett's brigade.

Thanksgiving Day, 1861, was, I believe, the best of all which came in our army days. We had much to be thankful for, our lives had been spared in battle, and our losses, in the greater perils of camp life, were small in comparison with those of other regiments stationed near us. Nearly every one had received a box of such generous proportions that the few who had none were recipients of a share of the contents; for many of the boxes contained notes reading, "for you, and those of your comrades who may not be so well remembered." These home remembrances were too numerous to be recounted here, but all were cheering and conducive to our well-being, particularly the home-made comfortables which filled a large space in each box; there were also jellies, pastries and confections which gave pleasure of a more transitory character.

A cavalry soldier was executed on December 13th, for attempting to desert to the enemy, and the whole division was paraded to witness it; I was not so fortunate as on a former occasion, in getting a detail for picket, and went with the others who reported that day for duty.

While the name of Chaplain Stratton had been borne on the rolls, from June 24th to October 31st, he had been unable to be present and perform the duties of his office, except for two visits. It was felt that a good active minister, whose conduct should be characterized by manly dignity and zealous labor to promote the moral and spiritual welfare of those with whom he should be associated, was most desirable; with the approach of the new year, an effort was made to secure a suitable man, one with spiritual grace and physical strength. A meeting of the officers was called, and of the several names presented the one recommended by Major Seaver was invited to join us. In due time the Reverend Andrew M. Millar, of Franklin County, reported for duty; his life and services were of the high order sought, and he soon won the respect and confidence of his associates.

The chaplains of the division were of many different denominations, yet all united in praiseworthy efforts to combat the evil influences which, as by magic, promptly surround military camps. To this end, religious revivals were started in several regimental camps and were attended with most satisfactory results. Important as all felt it to be to bring light to the minds of the subordinate officers and enlisted men, it was thought to be of greater consequence to have the superior officers, particularly the regimental commanders, directed in the way of making their lives and language comport with the dignity of their positions, that they might become fitting examples for their subordinates. The chaplains held conferences, for the purpose of arranging the best plan for inaugurating a systematic and forceful attack

on the chief sin which they sought to eradicate,—one whose enormity it was most difficult to bring to the comprehension of those most frequently guilty. This was called by the chaplains, profanity,—but some of the officers, when appealed to, said that it was not profanity, but the simple use of "cuss words," absolutely essential to produce results, especially when drilling raw recruits and driving newly geared mules.

Although the proceedings have not been found in the official records, and are therefore not to be wholly relied upon, it was reported that great success had attended the visits of certain chaplains to the colonels who were most addicted to this habit; and complete success was expected to follow a visit to the one most proficient in the use of the two languages, one English and the other profane,—the second, called by some, a military auxiliary to the former. This duty, by common consent, was imposed upon our worthy Chaplain Millar; his dignity, his piety, exemplified by words and deeds, his persuasive speech, all supported by Scotch persistency, would, it was expected, work the change sought for. Our chaplain was welcomed most heartily by Colonel ——, and was attentively listened to, while he was showing the necessity of expunging from the vocabulary the harsh expletives which poisoned the air and chilled the hearts of thoughtful men. Mr. Millar supported his arguments by relating the benefits which had followed the abandonment of this habit by Colonel ——, since which time his regiment had made a marked advance in spiritual affairs, and clinched the statement, by saying, "Last Sunday, ten men confessed their sins, entered upon a new life, received baptism and entered into communion with the elect." "Do you tell me, Chaplain, that all this good has followed the abandonment of this——habit, which I, in common with many other men, have regarded as absolutely necessary to move stupid men

and vicious mules?" "Yes, I do, and I feel certain that your regiment will advance and be blessed, as it never can be while under the baleful influences against which good men contend." "Chaplain, I hope you are right, and I promise you that I will at once wholly abandon this d— habit, which you so justly condemn; not another d— word, calculated to annoy the most sensitive ear, shall be heard from me. To show you how much I appreciate your counsel and labors, and my desire to facilitate your good work, I will detail from the regiment fifteen men for baptism; they shall be ready any day you name. How will next Sunday, at 2 P.M. suit you? No regiment made up from the——stupid miners from the State of——shall ever outdo, in moral ethics and church attendance, the one I command, composed as it is of the dutiful descendants of those old Puritans, who sweetened the air of New England and buttressed our orthodox creed by hanging Quakers and burning witches."

As the report goes on, our chaplain expressed regret that nothing could result from this interview, and informed the colonel that his plan was not in accord with the evangelizing methods pursued in free countries. It was, he told him, too much like that of a certain cannibal chief who, being deeply affected by the teachings of a missionary, wished to be baptized and to enter the church. On being told that, before he could take that important step, he must forgive his enemies, he replied, "I have no enemies. I have eaten all within reach, and I will eat the others as soon as they are captured." "Colonel, his application for membership into a Christian church was denied, and your plan for Christianizing your command will not be approved. I cannot countenance compulsory baptism."

The above is one of the several versions of what took place in the interview between Chaplain Millar and Colonel ——, but the former would never give satisfactory answers to

laymen who sought the facts; he contented himself by saying, "interviews are seldom correctly reported, and it is enough for you to know that I shall have all the missionary labor I care to perform, in seeking to promote the welfare of the men of the regiment to which I am attached." Colonel ——'s skill, valor and devotion were recognized by his promotion; and later, in civil life, where I sometimes met him, his friends held him in high esteem. When the end came, his memory was cherished as that of a good soldier, a patriotic citizen and a faithful worker in the church in which he had long been an active member.

From the time when Laurence Sterne wrote, "the army swore terribly in Flanders," it has been believed by many, unfamiliar with army men, that profanity in its worst form is practised to a greater extent in military, than in civil, life; such belief is not well founded, and, should a comparison be made, I have no doubt that the members of that profession, which by common consent stands next to the priesthood, are more exempt from this offensive habit than are those untaught and unpractised in the profession of arms. We hear much of the spotless Christian character of a few men who have attained great distinction in the profession of arms, and because of the high encomiums paid to them, the impression is made that commendation on this question is merited by no others.

Major General Oliver Otis Howard, for more than fifty years an officer in the United States Army, unquestionably stands in the front rank, as one possessing the cardinal virtues and Christian graces; yet it will not do to say that other officers in the army are destitute of the virtues so well exemplified in his life. He has been called "The American Havelock"; to some this designation raises General Havelock to a dignity which he would not reach by standing alone.

The advent of 1862 was welcomed by the Army of the Potomac with salvos of artillery, volleys of musketry, bugles, bands and drum corps. This enthusiastic demonstration was the spontaneous expression of the feelings of irrepressible youth; the more sober-minded said that the arch genius of Pandemonium would have been puzzled to produce a greater discord. The people of Washington and Alexandria were suddenly aroused, their minds filled with dire forbodings and their ears with the most unearthly sounds. The active participants in this boisterous frolic were at last surfeited, and sought their tents to draw about them army blankets and the home-made comfortables of Thanksgiving Day, and soon felt, as no doubt did those whom they had so rudely awakened, the kindly sentiments of the soldier of an earlier war, who called down blessings on the man "who first invented sleep."

CHAPTER VIII

MARCHES PRELIMINARY TO THE CAMPAIGN OF 1862

FAIRFAX SEMINARY was used as a hospital during the war, and is remembered most pleasantly by the members of the Sixteenth who were taken there for medical treatment; more for the nursing and care given them by Miss Sarah S. Bradley, later, wife of Lieutenant-Colonel Charles A. L. Sampson, Third Maine Volunteers, than as "the place where young men were taught to observe the venerable forms of the Episcopal Church." I quote from two of Lieutenant Walling's letters:

"CAMP FRANKLIN, VIRGINIA, February 19, 1862.

"I have been in the brigade hospital six days, came back to camp to-day. . . . I had a nice time there; enjoyed my stay very much. I was a patient at large, allowed to go where fancy or inclination desired. This I was glad of for various reasons, and the principal one is, I could see the attention and treatment the sick received. They are better cared for than I supposed they could be. All seemed satisfied with their attendants. Not a murmur or complaint did I hear. Miss Bradley, the matron, is extremely kind and attentive to all who are so unfortunate as to find it necessary to be placed under her protecting care. She is a lady of marked abilities and enters into the spirit of her mission. She says her whole heart is in this war. She left a salary of a thousand dollars a year for the war, and now gets twelve dollars per month."

"CAMP FRANKLIN, VIRGINIA, February 26, 1862.

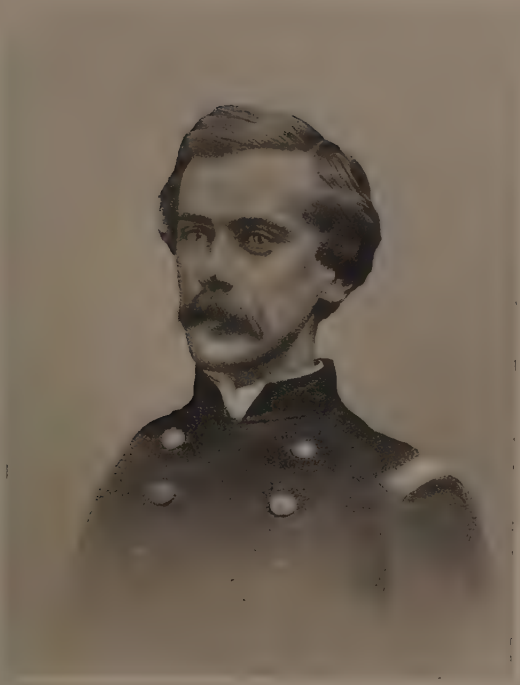
"Colonel Davies' promotion, for 'gallant conduct at the battle of Bull Run,' has been a matter of great interest to us. The

President has sent his nomination to the Senate as Brigadier-General of Volunteers. He is still in command of the regiment, and of course, impatiently waiting orders for his more honorable position. When he leaves us, his successor will be Captain Joseph Howland, Assistant Adjutant-General, now on the staff of General Slocum. You will recollect he came out with us as adjutant. He is an excellent man and we hope we shall ever think as much of him as we do now. His wife and her sister are messengers of mercy to the sick. She has an abundance at her disposal, judging from what she is constantly placing in the hands of the unfortunate soldiers. They are said to be frequenters of all the hospitals on both sides of the Potomac. God bless the women. It is gratifying and encouraging to the sleepers in tents to know that the women are interested in and, I may say, enlisted in the war; that they are constantly engaged in devising ways and means to promote the comfort of the sick and inspiring the well to deeds of noble daring. Every city, village and neighborhood has its 'circle' where the war spirit is nursed and where it finds an effective way of doing much good."

March 7, 1862, Colonel Thomas A. Davies was promoted to be Brigadier-General United States Volunteers, and Captain Joseph Howland to be Colonel of the Sixteenth New York. Both promotions were well received; all were glad that our colonel had received recognition for his services at Bull Run, and that Colonel Howland was to succeed him in command of the regiment. The officers called on the general in the evening to express their congratulations, and to thank him for his care in qualifying them to discharge the duties of their new profession. He received all very kindly, referring to incidents of our past relations and giving suggestions as to our future service. Leaving his quarters, I passed a number going in, and met another party, who said they would wait until those within should come out and give them an opportunity to see the general. Those

of us on the outside, near enough to the general's quarters to hear moderately loud conversation, were silenced by a remark from the General; "Did you see Captain Curtis who just left here? I want to tell you that he will be of no use in an active campaign; all the time and money spent on him has been thrown away." Some one said that they had never heard him speak unkindly of Captain Curtis; "O!" said he, "Curtis is well enough as a man and an officer, in camp; but, for active service, he will be utterly useless, and for the reason that he will get killed in the first engagement and all the instruction given him will be lost. I did not like to tell him, but you remember what I now say. He is too tall and cannot escape the enemy's bullets; if he does, their firing will not be very creditable." It was agreed that my difficulty could not be rectified, since there was no chance to apply the Procrustean treatment, and, with a good-natured laugh, the subject was dropped. The general wrote me a kindly letter when he heard of my wound at West Point and said, "You take two chances to one of a man of average height, and I am afraid that the enemy will get you next time." In after life he often spoke of his comments at Camp Franklin and of his calculations as to the chances I took in battle. There are few questions which mathematics will not aid in solving, but the chance of an individual in battle is the one as far removed from such calculation as any in our life experience.

At dress parade, on Sunday, March 9, 1862, orders were read, naming Franklin's division as the First Division, First Corps, under command of General McDowell, and announcing that we were to march the next morning. Much of the night was spent in packing our belongings; some were to be carried on the march and other articles left in storage at Alexandria. Reveille was sounded at 2 A.M., and in a heavy rain storm which continued all day, we marched



Joseph Hawley

fourteen miles to Fairfax Court House, where we slept for the first time under shelter tents. The ridge pole was so near the ground that the occupants could neither sit nor stand upright; each man had two pieces of twilled cotton cloth, four feet wide and six feet long, and when two tented together they used two pieces for roofing and the other two for closing the ends of the tent. The enemy had evacuated Manassas; it was too muddy to drill and we waited for orders with commendable patience. On the evening of Friday, March 14th, we were ordered to retrace our steps, and marched all night, arriving in Camp Franklin on Saturday morning. Here we remained until April 4th, when we marched to Alexandria, and took the cars for Manassas Junction, where we pitched our tents south of the battle-field of Bull Run, close to the camps which the Confederates had recently abandoned. It was evident that the enemy had passed the winter in comfortable quarters and had been abundantly supplied with the creature comforts usually found in military camps,—especially with "wet goods," for in the débris were many bottles "in which there was no sin."

On April 8th, we marched along the railroad track, to Catlett's Station, eleven miles, arriving in the middle of the afternoon in a severe storm of snow and rain. I do not recall a more unseasonable snow storm than this one; four or five inches of snow fell and remained on the ground for three days; the grass and wheat were several inches high, the peach and apple blossoms had come and fallen. It was a dreary place where the regiment was halted to encamp. Lieutenant-Colonel Marsh came to call the attention of the captains to a strict order which had been issued against the burning of fence-rails. When he communicated it to me I said that we were greatly in need of fuel, that there was an abundance of "split timber" near, and asked if we could burn anything of that description. He replied, "certainly,"

and hastened to notify the other companies. When he returned to headquarters and reported that he had delivered the orders as directed, he was asked by Colonel Howland, "What material is being used to make the fires which I see starting up along the regimental line?" Further inquiry disclosed the fact that the first fire had been started in my company, and that it was made of rails. I was directed to report to headquarters; on arriving there I was asked by the colonel if I was burning rails. I replied, "No sir, my company is burning 'split timber,' as authorized by Lieutenant-Colonel Marsh." The lieutenant-colonel was asked to explain and frankly stated that he had replied affirmatively to the question of Captain Curtis, in regard to permission to burn split timber; he did not at the moment suspect that this included rails. I escaped the intended arrest, and the lieutenant-colonel received a reprimand for his thoughtless reply to my request. Colonel Howland said that the spirit of the order had been violated, but, in view of the permission given by the lieutenant-colonel, no further action would be taken.

I quote from two letters of Captain Parker to his wife:—

"Camp near Manassas Junction,
"Sunday, April 8, 1862.

"The morning we left Camp Franklin, I wrote you. We arrived here that evening by cars. The ride was delightful, through hills and fine groves. Occasionally we saw a farmer ploughing, but it was always done in a poor way. As far as I have seen, nearly all the houses in Virginia were cast in the same mould, chimney on the outside at each end. The soil here is a red freestone loam, mixed with clay, naturally a very quick productive soil, but, of course, very much worn out by the universal mode of Virginia farming. We passed within sight of Centreville Heights. It looked perfectly natural. We passed many Secesh camps after crossing Bull Run. The quarters were made

of logs, plastered with mud, covered with shingles or boards and with good fire-places. I had some talk with a man who lives here, and he said it was positively necessary for the men from the far South to have such quarters or they could not winter here. The battle ground is about seven miles from here, but I have not had time to visit it, and as we have orders to march to-morrow morning at seven, I must lose the opportunity. We go forward towards the Rappahannock. . . . It seems the programme is somewhat changed. McDowell has command of a separate military district and we are in it. He seems to be a pet of the authorities, but I am sure he is not my pet. I think General Kearny is very much his superior. But Franklin and Slocum I have great faith in. The weather is getting warm and pleasant. Flowers are in blossom, and the birds are singing."

"CAMP IN THE MUD, April 10, 1862.

"We are at Catlett's Station, twelve miles from the Rappahannock. Marched from Manassas Monday. Had a fine day for the march, but it commenced storming about half an hour before we pitched tents, and I certainly never saw a worse rain and snow than we had for three days. Two brigades at least, and I think three, are near by. The men scatter all over the country for five miles, in houses, barns, and whatever offers a shelter. We are in a grove and have plenty of wood and good water. My blankets got wet the first night, and my feet were so wet that I slept with my boots on last night. The ground is covered with snow and water, and you cannot easily imagine a more uncomfortable, mud-bedraggled set than we are. But all seem to enjoy themselves much more than you could suppose possible. Very few are sick. We manage to sing, play checkers, euchre and chess, build fires, dig ditches, eat and sleep."

The regiment took cars, and on April 12th, returning to Alexandria, marched out to its first camp in Virginia, where it remained until the 17th; it then marched into Alexandria and, embarking on the steamer *Daniel Webster, No. 2*, proceeded down the Potomac two or three miles, and

anchored for the night. Colonel Howland's letters to his wife give an account of the week the regiment spent in getting to Ship Point.

"Steamer *Daniel Webster*, April 18.

"I have a chance to send a boat ashore, to get the mail, and so can say good morning to you. All the steamers are lying in the stream two or three miles below Alexandria, receiving their 'tows'. There are about a hundred schooners and barges to take down. We tow four. All's well, the boat is crowded, but the men are more comfortable than I supposed they could be, and are behaving admirably. The work of getting them well on board was a hard one. I have 820 officers and men on this boat and the four schooners. The sick are doing well; the change of air and the rest are curing the dysentery. I do not know where we are going."

"Near Fortress Monroe, Sunday, April 20.

"No orders. The boat is becoming very dirty and can not be cleaned, as she is so crowded that there is no place to put any number of men, while cleaning is being done. The regiment is behaving well. I have had to punish only one man since we left Alexandria, but have made an example of him for smuggling and selling liquor.

"We had a nice little service a short time ago and the chaplain is repeating it in different parts of the boat, as it is not safe to assemble the men in any one part, where even a couple of hundred could hear. The men were very attentive. The more I see of the regiment the more highly I think of it. I am sure the old Sixteenth will always behave creditably."

"York River, April 22.

"Here we still lie, awaiting orders, without a word of news and nothing to do. The boat is so crowded and dirty that life is becoming intensely disgusting, yet there does not appear any prospect of getting away. Last night there was heavy firing

towards Yorktown, and we could see the flashing of the guns; but we do not know what it was.

"April 24. Yesterday, at last, I landed the regiment, having asked permission to do so and have the boat thoroughly cleaned. Having picked out a piece of level ground at the head of a little bay where there were lots of oysters, I got a stern-wheeler and sent the regiment ashore by companies, and got all fairly into camp before sunset.

"I suspect Commander Rodgers is the right sort of man for the *Galena*. I heard a story about him to-day. Some one said to him, 'Your iron plates are too thin; their thickness should be at least four inches.' His reply (somewhat profane) was, 'what to h— do I care about their thickness—my business is to go up York River and shell the enemy.'"

On the evening of May 4th, the regiment re-embarked and ran up opposite Yorktown, where we anchored; on the morning of the 6th, the steamers carrying Franklin's division, convoyed by two gunboats, proceeded slowly up the York River, arriving opposite Brick House Landing, where all the infantry were debarked before sunset.

CHAPTER IX

BATTLE OF WEST POINT, VIRGINIA

AFTER landing at the head of York River, the regiment marched a short distance, and stacked arms. After supper was over, the members of Company F were engaged in general conversation when Edwin R. Bishop, a lighthearted and fun-provoking man, rose from the ground and interrupted the conversation by saying, "Boys, if I should fall in the next battle, as I now believe I shall, I wish you would bury me under this tree, where I indicate by these lines." He then proceeded to mark with a pioneer's spade the outlines of a grave. Immediately Corporal George J. Love, a very sedate man, rose and picking up the spade which Bishop had used, said, "I would like you to dig my grave beside Bishop's, but please dig it with more regularity than his crooked lines indicate; I am the son of a sexton and have helped to dig many." He then proceeded to draw a parallelogram, dropped the spade, and sat down. Then Peter G. Ploof, a lad of twenty, much beloved for his boyish, winsome ways, picked up the spade, and said "If I fall, dig my grave here beside Love's, and do it as we dig graves at home. Please follow the lines I make for you." He drew the lines of the coffin used in those days, wider at the shoulders and tapering toward the head and foot. Conversation was resumed, and no further attention was paid to the incident.

At three o'clock the next morning, May 7th, Companies F and G were ordered out to the picket line, where, at 9 A.M.,

they met the advancing lines of General J. B. Hood's brigade, of Whiting's division. These companies could not stay the progress of the overwhelming force brought against them, but they made a manful resistance until the artillery was brought up and made ready for action; they were then ordered back, with 17 per cent. of their number among the killed and wounded. Three members of Company F were killed,—Bishop, Love and Ploof, and their comrades, in paying them the martial honors due the gallant dead, gave to each the resting place he had selected on the night before the battle. Beside them were buried Mummery, Seabury and Waymouth, of Company G.

Corporal James Cook of Company F, whose leg was broken by a musket ball, was left on the field during its temporary occupation by the enemy; a Confederate soldier took his watch, purse and a Masonic ring. His call for help brought to his side a Confederate Mason, who caused Cook's property to be restored to him, filled his canteen with water, made him as comfortable as possible, and on leaving, said, "we are enemies in honorable warfare, but on the plane where your disabilities have placed you the laws of humanity and charity prevail."

Of the members of Company G, Seabury was found alive, but lived only long enough to tell his comrades that the Confederates had been kind to him, and had done all they could to make him comfortable; Waymouth had evidently been killed in the act of reloading his musket; Mummery's body was found in a pool of water with the throat cut. Great indignation was felt by all, and General Newton, in his report of the battle, referred to this case and others of less savagery, in terms of severe condemnation. That Mummery's throat should have been cut, when his wounds were mortal, was a mystery which remained unsolved until, in February, 1869, I visited Texas. On the steamer, crossing

the Gulf of Mexico to Brazos de Santiago, I fell in with two Texans who were in Hood's brigade, and in this battle of West Point. I questioned them about the battle, and asked them to recall any unusual circumstance connected with it. "There was nothing unusual," the spokesman said, "we found out there that the Yanks would fight, and were not to be driven with pop guns, as we were told when we joined Magruder's army at Yorktown." The other man added, "That was the place where we cut the Yank's throat." He went on to tell of the action, of their occupying the ground which we held at the beginning of the engagement, and said, "one, who was severely wounded and unable to stand, opened on the Confederates with a seven-shooter, every shot of which killed or wounded a man. It was thought that a wounded man, whose line of battle had been driven from the field, and who thereafter continued the fight on his own account, deserved to be summarily dealt with, so we cut his throat."

It had been learned, after Mummery's death, that he had disobeyed orders in not turning in his pistol, at Alexandria, and that he had confided to a comrade his purpose never to be captured alive, but to inflict all the injury possible on the enemy. There are many cases reported, where disabled men have continued to fight after the opposing forces occupied the ground, and, in nearly all instances, they became the subjects of summary treatment; a case of this kind occurred in the late war with Spain, when a wounded Spanish officer shot Lieutenant Ord, and was promptly dispatched by a volley from Ord's company.

I quote from letters, and from official reports of the action at West Point, Virginia:—

"HEADQUARTERS SIXTEENTH NEW YORK, BRICK HOUSE POINT,
"YORK RIVER, VIRGINIA, May 8, 1862.

"GENERAL:—

"I have the honor to report the part taken by the regiment under my command, in the engagement of yesterday.

"About 9 o'clock A.M. yesterday, I received orders from Brigadier-General Slocum to report with five companies, (C, D, E, H, and I), to General Franklin on the right of the line. Companies A, B, F, G, and K were on picket, A, B, and K having been posted the night before, and F and G having reported to the general officer of the day, Colonel Bartlett, Twenty-seventh New York, at 3 o'clock A.M., and been sent to relieve a portion of the advance guard from the Twenty-seventh New York, at our centre and left. While the battalion under my command was marching to the front, I was ordered by General Slocum to support Captain Platt's battery which was advancing near me, and to report to General Newton. Captain Platt took a position just beyond a small stream which empties into the York River on our left, and on the right of the road which leads inland from the point at which the division landed. I placed my battalion in column, on the left flank of the battery and a little in rear, but received orders from yourself to move to the left of the road within supporting distance, where I would be hidden from the enemy by the woods, in case he made his appearance. I subsequently received orders through an officer of your staff, to recross the stream and take position farther to the rear. As the execution of this order left Captain Platt without support, he fell back some distance. A short time afterwards, orders were received through Captain Scofield of your staff for the infantry to recross the stream, when I took position in column, on the right of the road and on the left flank of Hexamer's battery, which had come and taken the position previously occupied by Captain Platt. I remained in this position until about 5 o'clock P.M., two hours after the artillery fire ceased, when I was ordered by yourself to return to camp. The battalion was at no time under fire; but companies F and G were engaged early in the day as skirmishers, while on duty at the outposts, and met with some

losses. As these companies were at the time detached from the regiment I inclose the reports of the company commanders. I have every reason to believe that the companies behaved well, and only fell back, when obliged to do so by greatly superior forces, from want of support and on account of the imminent danger of being outflanked and surrounded.

"Companies A, B, and K, upon being relieved as pickets, returned to camp for food, and then started to rejoin their regiment, but on the way were ordered by Colonel Bartlett, commanding General Slocum's brigade, to support Captain Wilson's battery, F, First New York Artillery. They were not engaged and received orders to return to camp about 5 o'clock P.M.

"I have the honor of inclosing a list of killed, wounded and missing. The wounded were invariably robbed and in nearly every case were stripped of their jackets.

"I am, General, very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"JOSEPH HOWLAND

"*Colonel Sixteenth New York.*

"BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN NEWTON."

From Major Seaver's letter to *The Malone Palladium:*—

"May 7, 1862.

"Company F, Captain John C. Gilmore, and Company G, Captain N. M. Curtis, of the Sixteenth were engaged to-day. For a time they were nearly surrounded, but fought their way through great odds. Captain Curtis, while urging on his men, was struck by a ball in his left breast, directly over his heart. The ball struck a rib, glanced around and came out of his back. Twice he rallied his men after the shot, and, by his presence of mind and bravery, doubtless saved many a valuable life. Captain Gilmore was in nearly as bad a condition and barely escaped. . . . Many of the dead and wounded left on the field were stripped of portions of their clothing, their pockets rifled of valuables, and, in one case, the most horrid barbarities perpetrated on the person, as that of Mummery, whose throat was cut and body

thrown into a marsh. Our men behaved well, and are all eager for an opportunity to avenge the death of their comrades."

Captain John C. Gilmore's report not having been found the following letter is inserted.

"WASHINGTON, D.C., May 31, 1904.

"DEAR GENERAL CURTIS:—

"As I now recall the action of May 7th, 1862, at West Point, Virginia, my company held the left of the line and was deployed as skirmishers with a small part of it in support or reserve. On my right was your company, formed in the same way as mine, and, at the time of starting, was under the command of Lieutenant S. C. Vedder of your company. I am not at this time sure whether we were advancing or had halted, when the fight commenced with the enemy in much stronger force than ours. While my company was holding them in check in my immediate front, they, by a strong force, drove the left of Vedder's line back, advanced beyond the right of my line, turned to the right, and opened on my line a flank and reverse fire. I turned my line to face the enemy, about the same time you advanced with your company, having joined it from another part of the field, and drove the enemy from my left. In making this movement you received a severe wound in your left breast, but kept the field until we were ordered to retire, which order was given as soon as the artillery was put into position to open fire. Your prompt action in coming to my aid saved, without doubt, my company from greater loss than it sustained, which was three killed and five wounded.

"Corporal James Cook of my company was severely wounded in the early part of the engagement and fell into the hands of the enemy. Later in the day we recovered the bodies of our killed and brought off the wounded, except Barnhart and Kelley of my company, who were carried to Richmond.

"After the regiment went into camp on the 11th of May, General McClellan rode to our regimental headquarters, and requested Colonel Howland to send for the captains of the two companies engaged at West Point, that he might thank them in

person for their good conduct in the engagement. When informed that Captain Gilmore was on picket, and Captain Curtis on a hospital boat in the York River, he asked Colonel Howland to convey to them his thanks and commendations. On returning to the camp the next morning, Colonel Howland gave me General McClellan's message, and informed me that he had communicated the same to you by mail.

"Yours cordially

"JOHN C. GILMORE,

"*Brigadier-General U. S. A., Ret.*"

From *Advance and Retreat*,[1] by Lieutenant-General J. B. Hood, C. S. A.:—

"Whilst in bivouac opposite West Point, General Whiting informed me that a large body of the enemy had disembarked at Eltham's Landing, that our cavalry was on picket upon the high ground overlooking the valley of the York River, and instructed me to move my brigade in that direction, and drive the enemy back if he attempted to advance from under cover of his gunboats. Pursuant to imperative orders, the men had not been allowed to march with loaded arms during the retreat. On the 7th, at the head of my command, I proceeded in the direction of Eltham's, with the intention to halt and load the muskets, upon our arrival at the cavalry outpost. I soon reached the rear of a small cabin upon the crest of a hill, where I found one of our cavalrymen half asleep. The head of the column, marching by the right flank, with the Fourth Texas in front, was not more than twenty or thirty paces in my rear, when, simultaneously with my arrival at the station of the cavalry picket, a skirmish line, supported by a large body of the enemy, met me face to face. The slope from the cabin toward the York River was abrupt, and, consequently, I did not discover the Federals till they were almost close enough to shake hands. I leaped from my horse, ran to the head of my column then about fifteen paces

[1] Page 21.

in my rear, gave the command, "forward into line," and ordered the men to load. The Federals immediately opened fire, but halted as they perceived our long line in rear. Meanwhile, a corporal of the enemy drew down his musket upon me as I stood in front of my line. John Deel, a private in Company A, Fourth Texas, now residing in Gonzales, Texas, had, fortunately, in this instance, but contrary to orders, charged his rifle before leaving camp; he instantly killed the corporal,[1] who fell within a few feet of me."

Casualties in Battle of West Point

	Killed	*Wounded*	*Missing*	*Total*
Confederate	8	40		48
Union	50	113	28	191

Companies F and G, Sixteenth New York, took into action on May 7, 1862, three officers and one hundred and two enlisted men. Casualties, six killed, and eleven wounded, total seventeen. The nominal list will be found in Appendix A, page 362.

[1] This was Corporal George J. Love, the first man killed in the Sixteenth New York.

CHAPTER X

FROM PAMUNKEY TO THE CHICKAHOMINY

THE regiment, with the troops of Franklin's division, remained near the battle-field of the 7th for four days, and then marched to Eltham. While it was in this camp, General McClellan rode to regimental headquarters, and sent the messages referred to by General Gilmore in his letter of May 31, 1904. This visit to the regiment furnishes an illustration of General McClellan's strong personal interest in the welfare of his soldiers; he first instructed them, and then watched their progress, and commended their well-doing. This element of his character affords one of the reasons why General McClellan possessed that enthusiastic affection of the soldiers of the Army of the Potomac which was held by no other commander under which it marched and fought. The military commander who gives to his subordinates generous praise for their conduct in battle adds to their self-appreciation, which is one of the strongest elements of their military efficiency; it increases their regard for him, and cultivates confidence in themselves.

A march of ten miles, beginning at three o'clock in the morning and ending in a broiling sun, brought us to Cumberland, a farm with a landing on the Pamunkey River; here the division joined the main army which had fought the battle of Williamsburg, on its march from Yorktown. Two days later, on May 15th, the regiment formed line at daylight and marched eight miles, in a heavy rain storm, to White House. This plantation was the property of Mrs.

Robert E. Lee and was carefully guarded, while held as a base of supplies. It attracted much attention on account of the Colonial and Revolutionary memories which surrounded it; here Washington had courted and married Mrs. Martha Custis. Mrs. Howland, the wife of our colonel, visited it while we were encamped on the farm, and gave the following description:—

"Half a mile above us is the White House naming the place, a modern cottage, (if ever 'white' now drabbed over), standing where the early home of Mrs. Washington stood. We went ashore this morning, and, with General Franklin and his aides, strolled about the grounds—an unpretending place, with old trees shading the cottage, a green lawn sloping to the river, and an old-time garden full of roses. The house has been emptied, but there are some pieces of quaint furniture, brass fire-dogs, and just inside the door this notice is posted: 'Northern soldiers, who profess to reverence the name of Washington, forbear to desecrate the home of his early married life, the property of his wife, and now the home of her descendants. A grand-daughter of Mrs. Washington.'

"Some one has written underneath in pencil, 'Lady, a Northern officer has protected this property, within sight of the enemy and at the request of your overseer.' It is government property now and the flag waves from the top, and sentinels pace the piazza."

General McClellan organized, at White House, the Fifth and Sixth Provisional Corps; the Fifth under command of General Fitz John Porter, and the Sixth under General William B. Franklin. Franklin's old division, under command of General Henry W. Slocum became the First, and General William F. Smith's the Second Division; Colonel Joseph J. Bartlett of the Twenty-seventh New York, as senior colonel, assumed command of Slocum's, the Second Brigade. On May 19th, the regiment marched three miles

beyond Tunstall's Station and bivouacked for the night, and proceeded the next day to Cold Harbor, near the Chickahominy River. The infantry of the Fourth Corps arrived on May 20th, at Bottom's Bridge, and Casey's division forded the Chickahominy to protect the force which at once began to rebuild the bridge; Couch's division of the Fourth Corps followed Casey's, and both were employed in throwing up defences to secure the left flank. The Third Corps crossed and moved up to the support of the Fourth Corps.

On the 22nd, under command of Colonel Bartlett, the Sixteenth and the Twenty-seventh New York, a section of artillery, and a squadron of the First New York Cavalry went on a reconnaissance toward Mechanicsville, a small hamlet with a guide-board reading, "Five miles to Richmond." The detachment drove in the enemy's pickets, advanced close to his lines, learned his position, and returned to camp at 11 P.M.; the casualties were one cavalryman killed and one captured. Acting upon the information obtained, General Stoneman, with a cavalry force, captured the place on the following day. Our occupation of Mechanicsville deprived the people of Richmond of the pleasure they had long enjoyed, of driving there on summer evenings, and dining on the banks of the Chickahominy.

On the march from White House, we passed over territory which recalled many interesting incidents connected with the Colonial and Revolutionary periods. At Mechanicsville, we came to the scene of a most important event in the history of the Jamestown Colony. The descendants of this, the first successful English settlement in America, delight to call Jamestown "The Cradle of the Republic"; as we, descendants of New England, call Plymouth "The Cradle of Liberty." It was here, or near this place, on the 16th day of December, 1607, that Captain John Smith was captured, while in search of corn for the colonists at Jamestown.

After many days' travel, during which he was exhibited by his captors, he was taken to the court of the Great Chief Powhatan for final judgment and sentenced to execution. When the sentence was about to be carried out, and the executioners' clubs were raised to complete the savage edict, Pocahontas, the favorite child of the chief, for a child she was of but ten summers, sprang out from the throng and placed her head upon that of the intended victim. Extraordinary as are the incidents of succor and reprisal recorded in Persian, Hebrew, Arabic, Greek, Latin, mediæval, or modern story, not one of them carries the leading character so far beyond the realms of expectancy as the act of this maiden, in thrusting herself between death and this strange man; in every other scene of remarkable character, where pity, love, justice, or mercy has interposed to change the current of human affairs, practice or precept has mingled its influence with spontaneous impulse. In the social ethics of the Indian, a woman was an asset to be disposed of by her father; sentiment had no existence. What impulse stirred the springs of action in this untutored child, the psychologist only can disclose. The one who knows most concerning the limitless range of the human heart will doubtless come nearest to the solution.

Dr. Gaines's grist mill had been seized by order of General Slocum, who detailed Captain Gibson of the Sixteenth to superintend its operations with two men of the regiment, Nelson Lauber of Company H, and George H. Godden of Company A, as practical millers; they took charge of gangs of men and ran the machinery continuously. Captain Wood of the Sixteenth, with a guard of infantry and cavalry and a number of teams from the division train, was detailed to collect wheat and corn from the farms within our lines, to supply the mill; the corn was on the cob, and twenty men from the Ninety-sixth Pennsylvania were kept busy shelling

it by hand. A mess was established at the mill, in charge of Jotham Coon, who supplied all employed with food until the division moved to a new camp near Mechanicsville.

On May 27th, Bartlett's brigade marched, at 5 o'clock in the morning, to Mechanicsville, and the Sixteenth encamped on the edge of a wood about half a mile east of the Chickahominy, where they did picket duty and furnished details for bridge building.

Before starting out on the march to Mechanicsville, Lieutenant Barney sent a young colored boy, Aleck Simpson, who had joined the regiment at Tunstall's and "taken up" with him, to a spring on the banks of the Chickahominy for a canteen of water. Careful directions were given as to the path which he was to follow to a stated point, then turn to the left and go to the bank of the river where the spring would be found. After waiting for more than an hour, when ten minutes would have been ample to make the trip, Barney concluded that his boy had got enough of army life and deserted. But with daylight Aleck came back with an empty canteen, and, when sharply spoken to for disobeying orders, said, "I got los, but for the river the rebs would have got me; it was so dark, I could not tell my lef han from my rite han." The explanation was accepted and the time soon came when it was known that Aleck could see both sides of a path as clearly as any one.

General McClellan caused eleven bridges to be built across the Chickahominy, with corduroy roads at each end extending across the swamps which line the river, the enemy having destroyed all the bridges before our army reached the river; and the floods soon ruined many of those we constructed, but they were again rebuilt. Our pickets were generally received with a few artillery shots, and at times with musketry, but these exchanges were neither destructive or of long duration. It not infrequently happened that

the pickets would meet between lines to exchange coffee and tobacco, and, after returning to their respective sides, exchange shots to show that these friendly attentions had in no way lessened their devotion to the cause which each supported. It was sometimes agreed that they should fire high at first. One day, the enemy sent a twelve pound conical shell which fell in wet ground, near Battery D, Second United States Artillery, but did not explode; it was dug up, a new fuse was inserted by a gunner of the battery, and it was sent back again, where it was seen to hit and destroy an ammunition wagon. This battery was a great favorite in our division; those who knew William H. Cox, of Brasher, will remember his love for it, and that to the day of his death there was added to his signature, "Sergeant, D, Second United States Artillery." He was justly proud of an honorable title worthily won in action, and, in all his civil life, he exhibited the sterling qualities which had enabled him to earn it.

Soon after our arrival at Mechanicsville, when the Twenty-seventh New York was ordered into line to march to the support of General Porter whose guns indicated a battle, a recruit told his captain that he could not go into action. He was taken to General Slocum, with the expectation that the counsel of the commander would stiffen him up, but, on seeing the General, he began crying and begged to be sent home; when told that he was acting like a baby, he said, "I wish I were a baby, and a *girl baby too*." His tears did not prevent his being sent into the ranks, where in time he demonstrated that he had the fibre and the spirit of a man. Nothing serious came of the affair at Hanover Court House, as Porter's forces soon dispersed the enemy, and nothing beyond picket firing and small engagements occurred north of the Chickahominy, until the great battle a month later.

McClellan's forces were most unfortunately placed, as

they were divided by a river, at all times difficult, and sometimes impossible, to cross, which ran at right angles to his front; the Fourth Corps was near Fair Oaks and Seven Pines; Kearny's division of the Third Corps was in advance of Savage's Station, and Hooker's division of the same corps, on the left, near White Oak Swamp; the Second Corps was still on the left bank, near Grapevine Bridge, in position to support either wing of the army; the Sixth Corps was on the north side, extending from New Bridge towards Mechanicsville; and the Fifth Corps was stationed on the north and east, so as to connect with the cavalry guarding the base of supplies, and to join with McDowell's left when he should come forward from Fredericksburg to co-operate with McClellan in the attack on Richmond. That this situation violated an important military maxim, as well as the plainest principles of common sense, was well known to General McClellan and to the thoughtful members of his army, as well as to the observant enemy. The left had been advanced beyond the Chickahominy, to facilitate an attack upon Richmond which was to be made on the arrival of McDowell. McClellan could have withdrawn his left to the north bank of the river, but, in doing so, he would have practically abandoned the attack upon Richmond; it would have been safe, after the destruction of the *Merrimac* by the *Monitor*, to withdraw from the White House, and to establish his base on the James, but he was not permitted to do this, as is shown by the orders of the Secretary of War from whose letter of May 18th, 2 P.M., the following extract, is taken:—

"The President is not willing to uncover the capital entirely. . . . In order, therefore, to increase the strength of the attack upon Richmond at the earliest moment, General McDowell has been ordered to march upon that city by the shortest route. . . . He is ordered, keeping himself always in position, to save the capital

from all possible attack, so to operate as to put his left wing in communication with your right wing, and you are instructed to co-operate so as to establish this communication as soon as possible, by extending your right wing to the north of Richmond. . . .

"When General McDowell is in position on your right his supplies must be drawn from West Point, and you will instruct your staff officers to be prepared to supply him by that route. The President desires that General McDowell retain command of the Department of the Rappahannock and of the forces with which he moves."

The Battle of Fair Oaks

The worst storm and heaviest fall of rain during the time that the army was encamped near the Chickahominy came on the night of May 30th; flashes of lightning were almost continuous, and the thunder was appalling. The great downfall of water swept away all the bridges, except Bottom's Bridge; six miles below the left of General Sumner's corps, and Grapevine Bridge, which was floated and rendered unsafe; yet the next day General Sumner crossed the latter with the Second Corps; the bridge, however, held together only long enough for the passage of his troops, for, as the last crossed, the south end was submerged and other portions floated away. Favored by these conditions, the enemy, at noon on May 31st, made a vigorous attack with an overwhelming force on General Casey's division of General Keyes' corps, which held the advance of the army encamped on the south side of the Chickahominy. General Keyes brought forward to the support of Casey the division of General Couch, and asked General Heintzelman for assistance. He sent General Kearny's division. The contest was kept up with charges and counter charges until 4.30 P.M., when General Sedgwick of Sumner's corps arrived and was put into action on the right of Casey's division.

The battle was sharply continued until dark, when our troops, having exhausted the ammunition in their cartridge-boxes and that taken from the boxes of the dead and wounded, rested on their arms. Just as the firing ceased, General Richardson of the Second Corps, with the infantry of his division, arrived and bivouvacked for the night near the left of Sedgwick's division. His artillery, which on account of the deep mud could not keep up with the infantry, arrived on the field at 5 o'clock the next morning.

At six o'clock on Sunday, June 1st, the enemy renewed the battle by a fierce attack on the Union right, at which point General Hooker, with his division of the Third Corps, joined in. The steady fire of our artillery and infantry, extending along the entire front from our right to our left, was effective from the beginning, and in one hour the enemy's line began falling back; then a bayonet charge was ordered and his line was driven toward Richmond in great confusion. Our troops regained the ground lost in the early part of the engagement on Saturday, recovered one piece of artillery of the seven lost from General Keyes' corps the day before, and found, in the language of General Sickles' report:—

"The fields strewn with Enfield rifles, marked 'Tower, 1862,' and muskets marked 'Virginia,' thrown away by the enemy in his hurried retreat. In camp occupied by General Casey and General Couch on Saturday, before the battle of Seven Pines, we found rebel caissons filled with ammunition, a large number of small arms, and several baggage wagons, beside two barns filled with subsistence and forage."

The Confederate troops engaged were the divisions of Generals Longstreet, D. H. Hill, Whiting, Huger (only a part of it brought into action the first day), G. B. Anderson's Special Brigade, and Stuart's cavalry.

The forces taken into action on each side were of nearly equal numbers. The losses of both armies were large, particularly in officers.

CASUALTIES

	Killed	*Wounded*	*Missing*	*Total*
Confederate	586	6,268	227	7,081
Union	790	3,594	647	5,031

CASUALTIES IN REGIMENTS RAISED IN WHOLE OR IN PART IN NORTHERN NEW YORK.

Thirty-fourth	23	71	3	97
Ninety-second	8	69	28	105
Ninety-sixth	8	31	20	59
Ninety-eighth	4	41	28	73

Major John E. Kelley, Ninety-sixth New York, was killed two days before the battle while in charge of the picket line.

The Ninety-second, the Ninety-sixth and the Ninety-eighth New York regiments were in Casey's division, and suffered their proportion of the thirty per cent. of the casualties sustained by the brigades of which they were a part. This record shows where they stood in a battle which was sadly misrepresented in the early reports; but later ones gave them the credit to which they were worthily entitled. The Sixteenth was on the north side of the Chickahominy and unable to take part in the battle, but was deeply interested, as we knew that many of our Northern New York boys were receiving their baptism of fire, and a most severe one.

General Slocum ordered a reconnaissance to be made on June 1st, and it fell to Company B of the Sixteenth to lead; Company D was ordered to the bank of the river to protect the members of Company B, but was not ordered to cross. The planks and stringers had been removed from the bridge; one of the planks, eighteen inches wide and thirty-two feet long, was found and placed on the northern bank, and

Captain Tapley, with Mathew Nesbit, John F. Parker, and Frank Parody waded the stream, and held the western end on their shoulders, the plank being too short by three or four feet to reach the other side. Over this narrow plank Alexander Noble, followed by other members of the company, gained the south side. The crossing, under the circumstances, was a daring act.

June 2nd was one of the days always welcomed by every soldier, pay day. After receiving his pay, settling with the sutler, and balancing his accounts with his associates, the little that is left causes him to rise to a higher position of self importance and really enhances the value of his services as a unit in the army. Prompt and regular pay to a soldier should be regarded as next in importance to regular rations and ready ammunition. On this day, General McClellan issued his order complimenting the army on their past services, expressing his confidence in their future efforts and the hope that "they would meet and crush the enemy in the very centre of the rebellion." On June 12th and 13th, McCall's division joined the army and was attached to the Fifth Corps.

The following extract is from a letter from Lieutenant A. M. Barney to his sister:

"Camp Sixteenth New York, near New Bridge,
"Virginia, June 13, 1862.

"I send you a photograph of Major Joel J. Seaver, of the Sixteenth, he is a splendid fellow and all like him socially. . . . Put the photograph in my album, I shall try to send you more, especially of our colonel. He has just presented to each member of the regiment a nice straw hat, with a ribbon round it, on which is printed the number of the regiment in gilt letters and figures. The officers' hats are bound with black, the others have no binding. He has given to the regiment rubber and woolen blankets,

leggings, hats, flags, and new instruments for the regimental band, all costing about five thousand dollars. His wife is here with the Sanitary Commission and takes care of the sick and wounded of the Sixteenth, and sends oranges, lemons, wines, and other useful articles in large quantities to the sick. The colonel has given one thousand dollars to the Sanitary Commission. You can judge of the good qualities of the man and his amiable wife. Every man loves them with lasting devotion. They are about twenty-five years of age. We are in our old camp, five miles from Richmond. Captain Osborn's battery is encamped six miles from us. It is a good one and did splendid work at Williamsburg. Lieutenant George B. Winslow called on us yesterday."

There are many references to Osborn's Battery D, First New York Light Artillery in the letters, written by members of Companies D and G of the Sixteenth, which have been placed at my disposal. The interest felt by the members of those three companies in each other's welfare, and the success of the organizations to which they severally belonged, were due to the fact that most of the officers and many members of these companies had been fellow students in the Gouverneur Wesleyan Seminary, before the opening of the war, and the friendships there formed were strong and of an enduring character. The "splendid work at Williamsburg," referred to by Lieutenant Barney, is worth recalling here, for it recounts an act of sturdy valor which was without parallel in our campaign, and which has been surpassed in no other.

I quote from General Joseph Hooker's report[1] of the operations of his division, the Second of the Third Army Corps, in the battle of Williamsburg, Virginia, May 5, 1862:

[1] W. R. Vol. XI. Pt. 1. page 464.

"Under my chief of artillery, Webber's battery (H, First United States Artillery) was thrown forward in advance of the felled timber, and brought into action in a cleared field on the right of the road and distant from Fort Magruder about seven hundred yards. No sooner had it emerged from the forest on its way to its position, than four guns from Fort Magruder opened on it, and after it was still farther up the road it received the fire from two additional guns from a redoubt on the left. However, it was pushed on, and before it was brought into action two officers and two privates had been shot down, and before a single piece of the battery had been discharged its cannoneers had been driven from it, despite the skill and activity of my sharpshooters in picking off the rebel gunners. Volunteers were now called for by my gallant chief of artillery, Major Wainwright, to man the battery now in position, when the officers and men of Osborn's battery sprang forward and, in the time I am writing, had those pieces well at work."

Battery D, First New York Light Artillery, was recruited in western St. Lawrence and in Jefferson counties, and received its baptism of fire under the circumstances recorded by General Hooker. That the officers and men of the battery should have responded so promptly to a call for volunteers to serve the guns of a regular battery, which had been abandoned by its own gunners, is merely one proof of their steadiness and devotion to duty, raised to the highest plane of heroic action.

Slocum's division, on June 18th, crossed Woodbury's Bridge to the south side of the Chickahominy, and the Sixteenth encamped on Garnett's farm, between the river and Fair Oaks Station, so close to the enemy's camps that their roll calls could be heard by our members. While here, the regiment furnished daily details to build roads and fortifications; twice it was called out for battle, but the alarms passed and no orders came for an advance.

CHAPTER XI

THE BATTLE OF GAINES'S MILL

FROM June 18th, the Second, the Third, the Fourth and the Sixth Corps were stationed on the south side of the Chickahominy. The Fifth Corps, with the greater part of the cavalry and the siege guns placed in important positions, held the line from Meadow Bridge to the Pamunkey. The Secretary of War's order of the 18th of May was still in force, "to extend your right wing to the north of Richmond." The expectation that General McDowell, with his army of forty thousand men, would join McClellan was, by reason of delay, changed to doubt until the receipt of the Secretary's dispatch of June 26th:

"Arrangements are being made as rapidly as possible to send you five thousand men as fast as they can be brought from Manassas to Alexandria and embarked, which can be done sooner than to wait for transportation at Fredericksburg. They will be followed by more, if needed. McDowell, Banks, and Fremont's forces will be consolidated as the Army of Virginia, and will operate promptly in your aid by land."

This dispatch ended all expectation as to the arrival of McDowell's forces. The change in the plans of the Secretary of War was possibly brought about by the operations of the Confederates, as disclosed by the following extract from Dabney's *Life of General Thomas J. Jackson, C. S. A.*[1]:

"As soon as the news of Jackson's victory [at Port Republic]

[1] Vol. II., page 168.

was received in Richmond, it was judged that the proper time had arrived for the great movement. To make it successful, it was necessary to mask Jackson's removal from the Valley, lest his enemies, lately defeated, should assail some vital point, and to continue the diversion of McDowell's army from a union with McClellan. To further these objects, a strong detachment, consisting of the brigades of Whiting, Hood, and Lawton, which made an aggregate of seven thousand men, was sent to Jackson by way of Lynchburg and Charlottesville. It was so arranged that the captives from Port Republic, on their way to the military prisons of Richmond, should meet all these troops upon the road, and on their arrival there General Lee dismissed the officers among them on parole. He knew they would hasten to Washington and report what they had seen. The report of General McClellan reveals the success of the expedient. He states that the answer made by Mr. Lincoln to the next of his repeated requests for the co-operation of McDowell was the following, that he could not now need aid, inasmuch as the army of General Lee was weakened by fifteen thousand men just sent to General Jackson, and the dangers of Washington City were to the same extent increased. (The Federal officers, with their customary exaggeration, had doubled the number of Jackson's reinforcements.)

"He meanwhile was deceiving the enemy in the Valley with equal adroitness. The Federal army precipitately broke up its camp, and retreated to Strasbourg, where they began busily to fortify themselves. The Confederate cavalry then drew a cordon of pickets across the country just above them, so strict that the befooled enemy never learned Jackson's whole army was not on his front until he discovered it by the disasters of McClellan."

On the 26th of June, the enemy in strong force attacked the left of Porter's line, which he was able to parry while falling back to the east of Beaver Dam Creek, with no loss of guns or material. At 3 o'clock on the morning of the 27th of June, General Porter was ordered to withdraw to the east

of Powhite Creek, and at sunrise his troops were in the position designated. The siege guns were sent across the Chickahominy, and were later used in enfilading the enemy's right in his attack on Porter's left, in the afternoon of June 27th. Fearing for the safety of Stoneman, whose cavalry and two regiments of infantry under his command were guarding the line to the White House, Porter ordered him to move his force to the White House and to rejoin the army, wherever it might be.

That the commander of the Army of the Potomac was conscious of the difficulties of his position is shown by the steps he had taken on reaching the Chickahominy, on the 20th of May, when he sent a brigade, under General B. N. Naglee, on a reconnaissance on the south side of the river to within two miles of the James River. On the 18th of June, he ordered transports with supplies, under convoy of gunboats, to be sent up the James River. When his line was attacked on the 26th, by troops belonging to Stonewall Jackson's corps, he sent the following dispatch to the quartermaster at the White House:

"Run cars to the last moment, and load them with provisions and ammunition. Load every wagon you have with subsistence, and send them to Savage's Station by way of Bottom's Bridge. If you are obliged to abandon White House burn everything that you cannot get off. You must throw all supplies up the James River as soon as possible, and accompany them yourself with all your forces. It will be of vast importance to establish our depots on the James River without delay, if we abandon White House. I will keep you advised of every movement so long as the wires work; after that you must exercise your own judgment."

During the battle of Gaines's Mill, which was fought the following day, June 27th, General Slocum was ordered to support General Porter and, on reporting, was directed

to place Taylor's and Newton's brigades as supports to the left of the line of battle. Bartlett's brigade was sent to the extreme right of the line of battle and reported to General Sykes. The march was a long one and all the way under fire, during which the casualties numbered fifteen. Bartlett rested his command, for fifteen minutes, under a ridge in the rear of Sykes' division, to enable the men to recover from the rapid march. When the Sixteenth was ordered forward to retake the line from which the regulars had been driven, its position was such that a change of front forward on the first company was necessary, and this movement was executed with precision in the face of a sharp musketry and artillery fire. After making this change, the regiment was advanced about one hundred and fifty yards to a fence, from which position the charge was made to recapture the section of Edwards's battery which the Twentieth North Carolina regiment had held for ten minutes, turning one gun upon our advance. The artillerymen had worked their pieces most effectively until the enemy was among the guns; the last shot was fired by an officer supported by two of his men, the infantry having previously retired. General Porter, twenty-five years after, in an article published in the *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*,[1] referred to this incident as follows:

"On the right, near McGehee's house, the enemy captured one of the batteries, which had been doing them great damage by enfilading their lines and preventing their advance. They gained thereby a temporary foothold by advancing some infantry; but, prompt to act, Sykes directed its recapture, and the Sixteenth New York, with arms shifted to the right shoulder, and moving at a double-quick, was soon in possession of the prize, which again renewed its fire."

[1] Vol. II., page 339.

Comte de Paris in his *History of the Civil War in America*,[1] refers to the mortification felt by the regulars on account of the capture of these guns by volunteers, but of their recapture by volunteers he makes no mention.

"Being thus attacked in front and menaced in flank by the enemy, who had taken possession of the wood of New Cold Harbor, Sykes falls back, defending the ground foot by foot. But a portion of his artillery, the teams of which have been killed, remains on the field of battle. The regulars do not allow Hill to push his success along the road leading from Cold Harbor to Dispatch, by which he could have cut off the retreat of the army. Fearfully reduced as they are, they care less for the losses they have sustained than for the mortification of yielding to volunteers."

The Twentieth North Carolina accomplished a most difficult task in capturing Edwards's guns, for difficult it was to advance against Sykes' regulars, but not more difficult than that of recapturing the section after it had been ten minutes in the hands of the enemy, during which he had advanced his infantry to their support. Nearly three years later, I had occasion to test the stubbornness of North Carolina troops at Fort Fisher, and it is with admiration and respect that I speak of their daring, fortitude and valor. The qualities displayed by the men of North Carolina on these fields, and on many others, recall the words of praise paid to their grandfathers by Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Lee, commandant of the Partisan Legion, in his review of the battle of Camden, South Carolina, in the War of the Revolution, given in Lee's *Memoirs*[1]:—

"None, without violence to the claims of honor and justice, can withhold applause from Colonel Dixon and his North Carolina

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[1] Vol. II., page 102.

[1] Vol. I, page 185.

regiment of militia, having their flank exposed by the flight of the other militia, they turned with disdain from the ignoble example, and fixing their eyes on the Marylanders, whose left they became, determined to vie in deeds of courage with their veteran comrades. Nor did they shrink from this daring resolve. In every vicissitude of the battle this regiment maintained its ground, and when the reserve under Smallwood, covering our left, relieved its naked flank, forced the enemy to fall back. Colonel Dixon had seen service, having commanded a Continental regiment under Washington. By his precepts and example he infused his own spirit into the breasts of his troops, who, emulating the noble ardor of their leader, demonstrated the wisdom of selecting experienced officers to command raw soldiers."

The following letter from a Confederate soldier written forty-two years after the battle will be of interest:—

"Calypso, Duplin County, North Carolina,
Dec. 21, 1904.

"General N. M. Curtis,

"*Dear Sir:* Your favor of the 17th instant came duly to hand and I would have answered it sooner; but have put myself to some trouble in order to give you some facts beyond my observation, by conferring with some of my comrades who were in the battle, but have failed. So all I can do is to give you my experience, and if that is worth anything to you, I am glad to be of some service to a historical cause.

"We were marching in column when the battery opened on us with shells, then we made a right wheel to face it, then advanced through a thicket to a fence that enclosed a field, and opened fire with our muskets. From there we were ordered to charge, and in order to reach the battery, we made an oblique movement to our left. The guns were located on the left, as we faced them, and in front of the house, near a road that ran in front of it. My position in line was at the intersection of the alley running from the house to the road, on the side nearer the guns. I saw our troops turn the guns, and then gave my attention

to my front, and fired several shots about the house. The captured guns not firing, I looked in that direction and saw that they were abandoned, and, knowing there had been no forward movement on the part of our boys, I looked and saw our whole line had fallen back, and, the smoke having risen in my front and right, saw the enemy charge in a run towards the battery. They commanded me to halt, and, as I could not fly, I ran back and joined our lines at the charging point, at which position the regiment continued to fire. I was on the right of our regiment, but after you recaptured the guns, our left made a counter charge and recaptured the guns about sundown. I heard distinctly our fire, which was kept up near enough in front of me, to know the guns were again in our hands, and some of my comrades, whose testimony cannot be impeached, say they were in the last charge. I did not see the guns after my retreat, until the next morning, and on inquiry learned they were spiked by your men when they deserted them.

"I remember seeing a great many straw hats on the field, and am under the impression that a large per cent. of the men who were charging toward us near the battery were bareheaded. They came near capturing me. I was not wounded. As I wrote you before, our company's loss in the engagement was twenty per cent. killed and permanently disabled. This loss shows the metal we had to contend against. On this, and more than thirty battle-fields, I have seen the valor displayed by the boys in blue.

"As to our right, history teaches me that our fathers contributed their share of blood and treasure to leave me an inheritance, which it was my duty to defend; as to our valor, besides the killed, the million on the pension roll of the Union army is history you are writing every day. Our fathers, who made it possible for the American colonists to succeed, made Washington a patriot. Our defeat for the same cause makes us rebels, and Davis a traitor.

"Yours truly

"E. Faison Hicks,

"*Private Company E, Twentieth North Carolina, C. S. A.*"

The Sixteenth held a position one hundred yards or more in advance of the recaptured guns for more than an hour, during which time the guns might have been withdrawn if prolonges had been at hand; as there were none, and the horses had been killed, the section fell a trophy to the enemy.

Of the personal incidents which occurred on the field, the following are counted as well calculated to illustrate the conduct of our men in and after the battle. When advancing on the enemy who was in possession of the guns which he had turned and was firing on our line, the colonel's order, not to fire until the regiment was within short range when he would give the word, was well observed, except by Solomon Burr, Company D, who ran a few paces in front of the line and, with deliberate aim, discharged his piece at a man who apparently was in the act of sighting one of the guns. It was a telling shot and the man was seen to fall. It is believed that this shot killed Lieutenant-Colonel Faison. It was Burr's last, for, while reloading his musket, he was instantly killed by a ball which passed through his body and seriously wounded George Hill of the same company.

Eliakim H. Sprague, a recruit aged forty-two years, stood in the ranks beside his son, Persho B. Sprague, nineteen years of age, who was one of the original members of the Sixteenth. Eliakim was almost the first to receive a mortal wound, and expired in the arms of his son. After closing his father's eyes, the son resumed his place on the firing line and faithfully discharged his duties in that regiment, and in a second enlistment, to the close of the war.

Francis Grennon, when telling the fortunes of his comrades the day before, had stated that he himself would fall in the next battle, and he was one of the first to be killed.

Alpheus Cary was wounded in the arm, and when he reached the hospital, the chief surgeon ordered it amputated; to this Cary objected, and a young surgeon took the

case, and as a result Cary has carried the arm for forty-three years, and it is still a useful member.

Joseph Perry, with the loss of his left eye, and shot through the right hip, using two muskets as crutches, walked two miles to a hospital before his wounds were dressed.

William E. Gore by the aid of muskets as crutches, walked off the field, and later to Harrison's Landing.

Amos H. Dean, shot through the arm and body, remained insensible on the field for some time. When he regained consciousness he retreated a short distance and was shot again. He crawled to a fence, and men of the Ninety-sixth Pennsylvania helped him over. Later, he was carried by the stretcher corps to the field hospital, thence to Savage's Station in an ambulance. There, with many other badly wounded men, he was left on the retreat, and was taken to Richmond and Belle Isle. None of his company had seen him after he fell and he was reported killed in action. His friends at home had assembled in their church for his funeral services, when the news came that he was in the hands of the enemy. After being exchanged, as he was unfit to perform military duty, he was discharged, and now lives in Lawrenceville, New York, a remarkable illustration of a man's capacity to survive injuries called mortal, in cases where a vigorous constitution is supported by correct living.

The brothers Ellsworth were both killed, Edmond in the company, and Corporal Edwin T. in the color guard, all of whom, with one exception, were killed or seriously wounded.

Sergeant John Murray was standing in the rear of Andrew J. Broadwell, as a file closer, when a musket ball passed through Broadwell's body, and destroyed Murray's musket; he took the musket from Broadwell, who was unconscious, and carried it until mustered out.

Corporal William A. H. Lord was hit by a musket ball which ruined a gold watch and broke two of his ribs; the

ribs, after a short time in hospital, continued to do duty, but the watch, unrepairable, rests in Fuller's Jewelry store in Malone, New York.

Major's Seaver's report says: "Colonel Howland, though wounded in the early part of the engagement, still kept his horse and continued to direct all the movements of the regiment and cheer on the men during all the fight, and conducted the regiment from the field." At this point, about six hundred paces in the rear of the advance firing line, while the regiment was at ease, the colonel dismounted, and the incident occurred which is related by Mrs. Howland in the *Letters of a Family*, from which I quote:—

"When the battle of Gaines's Mill was all over and Joseph began to realize his own fatigue and wounded condition, he dismounted and lay down under a tree not far from the field, and presently fell asleep. He did not know how long he had slept, but it was dark when he was waked by something soft touching his cheek, and rousing himself he found it was his war horse, old Scott, rubbing his nose against his face. He had got loose from where he was tied and had looked for his master until he found him. Joseph was not ashamed to say that he cried like a child, as he put his arms around the dear old fellow's neck."

"Old Scott" had carried Colonel Howland on "to meet the armed men, was not affrighted, neither had he turned back from the sword," and had, throughout the battle, acted as a worthy descendant of his great progenitor, whom Job has so well described; and when the strife had ceased he lovingly sought his master, to bear him to his old camp. Such faithful devotion well deserved the evidence of appreciation which his master gave.

General Fitz John Porter had resisted a strong force on the 26th, and on his new line of the 27th he had, until five o'clock in the afternoon, held back the forces of Generals

Jackson, Longstreet, D. H. Hill, A. P. Hill, the Reserve Artillery, and Stuart's cavalry, consisting of twenty-eight brigades and forty-nine batteries, with his nine brigades and ten batteries, without surrendering more than a mile of his line. Notwithstanding his fearful loss of men, he was still in command of a resolute and unflinching corps, but he needed help to withstand the fierce assaults of the well-led and valiant forces so greatly out-numbering his own. Slocum's division came to his support, and, later, the brigades of French and Meagher, yet with this addition his forces hardly equalled one half of the enemy's. The character of the contest along the entire front is shown by the losses in Slocum's division in the two hours it was engaged. Porter's losses in this battle are combined with his losses from June 25th to July 2nd inclusive. General Slocum says of his operations and losses:

"My division entered the field 8,000 strong; the killed, wounded and missing amount in the aggregate to 2,021. This list attests the devotion and heroism of officers and men. Notwithstanding the fearful loss, including as it does many of the bravest and best officers of the division, all the regiments left the field in good order and returned to their camps in the same compact and orderly manner that characterized their march to the scene of conflict."

The casualties in Bartlett's brigade were 69 killed, 409 wounded, and 68 missing, total 546. The Sixteenth New York took 25 officers and 485 enlisted men to the firing line; its casualties were 41 killed, 17 mortally wounded, 58 wounded and discharged, 115 wounded and recovered, total 231. A nominal list will be found in the Appendix, page 362.

The battle of Gaines's Mill was the first one of the Civil War in which the aggregate losses on both sides equalled one-third of the forces engaged; the Confederate losses were

the greater in numbers, but of lower percentage than those of the Union troops. Among the officers on both sides were many, holding subordinate positions, who later came to the command of corps and of armies, and won the highest commendation for their military skill.

This chapter, which recalls to the participants so many scenes of unselfish devotion, of unsurpassed valor, and of heroic fortitude, will be closed by a quotation from a foreign officer in the service of the Confederates,[1] who writes of the sadder side, the truth of which we might find it hard to believe, were it not for what we ourselves witnessed, nearly three months later, in caring for the wounded left on the battle-field of Antietam:

"Our soldiers displayed a stoical disregard of death that placed them on an equal footing with veteran troops, for, despite the sanguinary harvest which death this day reaped in our ranks, no kind of disorder ensued, and it should be remembered that this fearless resolution was evinced not only by the more experienced portion of our troops, but by many regiments that had never been under fire before. It is, however, due to our opponents to admit that they sustained the shock of our incessant attacks with undaunted bravery. Although some of the brigades had been fighting from four o'clock till eight P.M., they had continued to stand firm, and it was only when they found, at the last named hour, Jackson was about to attack them in the rear, that they abandoned their positions. Although their loss must have been very severe they retired in good order, with drums beating and colors flying, taking their slightly wounded men and their baggage along with them; and, when hotly pressed in pursuit by Davis's and Wickham's cavalry regiments, they faced round and repulsed them.

"Night now threw her sable veil over the field of slaughter; it seemed, indeed, as if nature was anxious to conceal from the

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[1] Colonel B. Estvan's *War Pictures from the South*, page 315.

eyes of the living the harrowing spectacle of death's doings. Gradually, all had become still, save the faint echo of a distant cannonade on our left flank; but that too presently subsided. The majority of our soldiers, overcome by the exertions of so obstinate a contest, sank down helplessly upon the ground, to catch a little fitful rest. Although I was also so fatigued that I could scarcely keep my seat on horseback, nevertheless, accompanied by one of my aides-de-camp, I rode to that part of the battle-field where the struggle had been the fiercest. The havoc of war that was here noticeable, even in the gloom of night, was fearful to contemplate. Whole ranks of the enemy's dead lay extended on the ground they had occupied at the outset of the battle. The number of wounded, too, was proportionately great, while their groans and cries for help were audible on all sides, and were truly heart-rending. In by-gone days I had been on many a battle-field in Italy and Hungary; but I confess that I never witnessed so hideous a picture of human slaughter and horrible suffering."

CHAPTER XII

FROM THE CHICKAHOMINY TO THE JAMES

LATE Friday evening, June 27th, after the battle of Gaines's Mill, General McClellan called the corps commanders together and announced his purpose to transfer the army to the James River. He gave them maps indicating the roads on which they were severally to march, and designated the time and order of their departure. They were instructed to load their wagons with ammunition and provisions from the stores at Savage's Station. The Fourth and Fifth Corps were to march directly through to Malvern Hill, the Second, the Third, and the Sixth Corps were to follow the trains. The Second fought at Peach Orchard, later with Smith's division of the Sixth Corps at Savage's Station, and at White Oak Swamp; Slocum's division and the Third Corps fought at Glendale.

All the wounded from the battle of Gaines's Mill had been brought to the general hospital at Savage's Station, which was near the field depot of supplies. Our ambulances had been sent to Harrison's Landing with as many wounded as could be placed in them. Colonel Howland and Colonel Pratt of the Thirty-first New York were carried in an ambulance sent from General McClellan's headquarters. Lieutenant-Colonel Marsh, whose wound was very painful, and whose sufferings were greatly increased by riding, was carried on a stretcher to the hospital boat at Harrison's Landing, by a detail of twelve men under the supervision of Chaplain Millar.

For want of transportation, about two thousand five hundred sick and wounded officers and men, with their attendants, were left at Savage's Station and fell into the hands of the enemy. Of this number, seventeen wounded, three sick and two nurses were members of the Sixteenth New York. One of them, Corporal Harris R. Durkee of Company H, writes to me as follows:

"The wounded at Savage's Station were captured by the enemy after the 29th. Most of them were in A tents pitched north of, and near, the railroad. The Confederates brought up their artillery and opened on our troops stationed eighty rods south of the track; the wounded lay between the lines, *with noses well down*, for an hour or more, when the enemy sent cavalry and infantry to turn the left flank of our troops, but they were quickly repulsed.

"We were held at Savage's Station until after the battle of Malvern Hill and then taken to Richmond. We of the Sixteenth New York, wearing straw hats, received special attention from the Confederate officers and men who fought against us, who said 'We have great respect for the members of the "straw hat regiment," they were a brave and stubborn lot and inflicted severe punishment on us near the McGehee house.' David McAllister, Henry Sharp and myself were the only members of Company H left at Savage's Station. McAllister was not wounded, but was detailed by the surgeon to attend those who were. He contracted fever in prison and died in West Philadelphia hospital. We were exchanged about August 1st."

It is impossible to describe the feelings of such comrades, wounded in action and left to fall into the hands of the enemy; and most difficult to portray those of the unscathed, who are compelled to march on to new conflicts without their old associates, when they attentively listen to the reading of the report of casualties, and soberly swallow the lumps which increasingly rise in their throats as the list runs "killed

in action," "mortally wounded," "wounded and left on the field in the hands of the enemy."

Brave men, who have unfalteringly approached belching cannon, driven away those who served them at the point of the bayonet, and laid their hands on the hot breech as proof of capture, have trembled with grief and turned away speechless from the pleading countenances of those whom they have stood beside in battle, and now must leave to fall "into the hands of the enemy." It was indeed with sad feelings that the regiment marched away from the comrades left at Savage's Station.

At sunrise on Saturday, the 28th of June, all of General McClellan's army was south of the Chickahominy. At 2 P.M. Porter's corps began its march to the James River, followed by Keyes' corps, which held the left of the line near White Oak Swamp. Just before sundown, Hancock's brigade of Smith's division, holding the extreme right of our line, was vigorously attacked by artillery and infantry. Hancock held his ground, repulsed the enemy in a contest which darkness ended, that is called the action at Golding's or Garnett's farm. At 11 o'clock P.M., Slocum moved his division out of the works and marched to Savage's Station, where, in the early morning of the 29th, he received orders to cross White Oak Swamp and advance two miles on the Long Bridge Road. Later, he was followed by Heintzelman's corps, and Smith's division of Franklin's corps, to within half a mile of Savage's Station. General Meagher's brigade and the Fifteenth Massachusetts were sent to destroy the supplies in the field depot at the Station, which could not be carried forward. General Sumner's corps left its works at daylight on the 29th, and while resting at Allen's farm or the Peach Orchard was, at 9 A.M., attacked by General Magruder, with probably the same force with which he later opened the battle at Savage's Station. At 11 o'clock,

General Sumner, having repulsed the enemy, resumed his march, and at 2 P.M. took position on ground selected by General Franklin, on the east and south of Savage's Station. General Heintzelman in the meantime resumed his march to the James, but, before leaving, turned over to General Smith Osborn's Battery D, First New York, and Bramhall's Sixth New York Battery.

In this position, Sumner and Franklin awaited the destruction of the abandoned property and the passing of the trains. It was well chosen for a battle, should the enemy advance to interfere with the destruction of the public stores.

The following account is given by Surgeon George T. Stevens, Seventy-seventh New York, in his *Three years in the Sixth Corps:*[1]

"Again the division was formed in line of battle to protect our pioneers and the regiments which were engaged in the destruction of stores. The long railroad bridges across the river at this point had been burned. The work of destruction went on at a marvelous rate. Boxes of hard bread, hundreds of barrels of flour, rice, sugar, coffee, salt and pork were thrown upon the burning piles and consigned to the flames. One heap of boxes of hard bread as large as a good-sized dwelling made part of the sacrifice and boxes of clothing and shoes were cast into the flames.

"It was easy thus to dispose of the commissary and quartermasters' stores, but to destroy the immense magazines of cartridges, kegs of powder, and shells, required more care. These were loaded into cars; a long train was filled with the materials, and then after setting fire to each car, the train was set in motion down the steep grade. With wildest fury the blazing train rushed; each revolution of the wheels adding new impetus to the flying monster, and new volume to the flames. The distance to the bridge was two miles. On and on the burning train thundered like a frightful meteor. Now, the flames being communicated

[1] Page 96.

to the contents of the cars, terrific explosions of shells and kegs of powder lent new excitement to the scene. The air was full of shrieking, howling shells, the fragments of which tore through the trees and branches of the forest; and huge fragments of cars were seen whirling high in the air. At length the train reached the river; and such was its momentum, that, notwithstanding the bridge was burned, the engine and first car leaped over the first pier into the stream, and the cars hung suspended."

At 5 o'clock, an attack was made on the troops of Sumner and Franklin by General J. B. Magruder, with the brigades of Semmes and Kershaw, two regiments (the Seventeenth and the Eighteenth Mississippi, which the Sixteenth New York had met in their first battle, Bull Run, July 21, 1861) of Barksdale's brigade, Kemper's battery, two guns of Hart's battery and Lieutenant Berry's 32-pounder rifle gun mounted on a railroad car and protected by a covering of iron plates, through which port-holes had been cut. The enemy's artillery fire was very effective at first, but his guns were soon silenced by our batteries, Osborn's playing an important part in the work. Darkness closed the battle of Savage's Station; our troops held the ground and accomplished the object for which they had halted. General Sumner regarded the victory as so complete that he desired to make a stand and an advanced movement, but reluctantly resumed the march when specially informed that General McClellan knew of the engagement, and had directed that all the troops should cross White Oak Swamp that night.

General E. M. Law, in the *Southern Bivouac*, May, 1887, says of this engagement:

"The battle of Savage's Station, although a 'drawn fight' as far as the possession of the field was concerned, was practically a victory for the Federals. Though their loss was three times as great as that of the Confederates, they accomplished the main

purpose of the battle, which was to gain time for the passage of their trains, artillery, and troops across White Oak Swamp."

General Smith's division marched at 8 o'clock P.M., crossed White Oak Swamp at three the next morning (June 30th), and took position on the left of the road to support the batteries, then in position to contest the crossing by the enemy, who it was expected would follow Sumner's corps. At 10 A.M., Richardson's division and Hazzard's battery, the rear of Sumner's corps, crossed the bridge, and took position on the left of Smith's division. As soon as the troops had crossed, the bridge was taken up by the Engineer Battalion, under charge of Captain James C. Duane, United States Engineer Corps, loaded on wagons and moved on to high, cleared ground south of the Swamp, where the teamsters unhitched the mules and took them back to the Swamp to water them. About the time these teams reached the water, "Stonewall" Jackson opened upon our forces with thirty pieces of artillery. The troops immediately got under cover of the woods, suffering small loss, but the drivers and mules were thrown into great disorder. The mules ran through Meagher's brigade and disabled more men than were injured by the enemy's artillery. Captain Duane applied to General Franklin for a detail to destroy the fourteen wagons carrying pontoons, particularly the one carrying the valuable instruments of the Engineer Corps. This General Franklin declined to do, first, because their destruction at that time would disclose to the enemy his purpose of abandoning the field; secondly, because the work was too hazardous to undertake, and, as the train had been left in the most exposed position by Duane's own men, he should use *them* to destroy it, or call for men to volunteer to do it, just before he should resume his march to the James. Captain Martin T. McMahon, aide-de-camp

to the commanding general, serving on the staff of General Franklin, volunteered to destroy the train whenever the general would allow it to be done. Permission to attempt its destruction was granted late in the afternoon, when Captain McMahon applied to General Brooks, commanding the Vermont brigade, for a detail with axes, and was sent to Colonel Lewis A. Grant, commanding the Fifth Vermont, now Brevet Major-General Grant, who detailed his Pioneer Corps. After laboring ineffectually for some time to break up the boats, Captain McMahon kindled fires under each wagon loaded with pontoons, and after the fires were well started he turned his attention to the most valuable wagon in the train, the one on which were loaded the engineers' instruments. Just as he did so, three mules came to him for protection, as many domestic animals and some wild ones have been known to approach man, when overcome with fear. McMahon ordered these mules to be hitched to the Engineers' wagon and directed his orderly to deliver it to the first officer he should find with the train, then well on its way to the James. Then the captain took a bag of oats from one of the pontoon-wagons and carried it before him on his horse to headquarters, and there he caused the oats to be doled out by hatfulls to his brother staff officers for their horses, which had eaten no grain for many days.

General Franklin, in his article in *The Battles and Leaders* entitled "Rear Guard Fighting during the Change of Base," referring to this incident, says:

> "It was a plucky thing to do, for the train was under the guns of the enemy, who knew its value as well as we did, and the presumption was that he would open his guns on it."

Captain McMahon and the Vermont Pioneers returned safely to their station, and, years after, when Redfield

Proctor, then Major of the Fifth Vermont, was Secretary of War in the Administration of President Harrison, and General Lewis A. Grant was Assistant-Secretary of War under Secretary Proctor, there was sent to the captain who destroyed the pontoon train and saved the Engineers' wagon, now Brevet Major-General Martin T. McMahon, a Congressional Medal of Honor, inscribed

"For voluntarily rescuing a valuable train that had been abandoned and was covered by the enemy's fire. White Oak Swamp, Virginia, June 30, 1862."

A sad accident occurred during the battle, resulting from a regard for personal property to which the owner exhibited an attachment which no danger could break. An old man, at whose house General W. F. Smith established his headquarters, when he saw our batteries go into position and the infantry moved to their support, walked up to the general and asked: "Do you think there will be a battle?" "I certainly do," he replied. "How soon will it commence?" asked the old man. "Probably in less than an hour," was General Smith's reply. "In that case I will carry my wife and baby to my brother's house a mile away, and come back before the battle opens." When cautioned not to return until the battle was over he said, "I fear if I do not come back your Yankee soldiers will take all my poultry." He returned about the time that Jackson's shells broke over our lines, was hit by a piece of one of them and soon died, expressing with his last words his dominating fear, "that the Yankees would carry off all his ducks and chickens."

The battle of Glendale was fought on the 30th day of June, by Heintzelman's corps and Slocum's division. It was necessary that our troops should hold this position to enable the trains to reach the James River, and its defence was

mainly the work of Upton's, Porter's, De Russey's and Randolph's batteries, which were most admirably served. A section of Hexamer's battery was badly served, for many of its shells injured our own men. It was soon silenced by General Slocum's order. The casualties in the Sixteenth were two killed, seven wounded, and two captured on the picket line at night.

Eland A. Woodruff survived his wound half an hour; as he was carried to the rear, he said, "Good Bye, boys, I can't be with you any longer." Another of Woodruff's comrades, when hit with a piece of a shell, concluded that it was a mortal blow, and went to the rear saying, "Tell my friends that I die with my face to the enemy." He now lives in Virginia and has ample facilities to make his exit in the manner then suggested, barring the simple fact that wartime enemies are now good friends.

Harper's Weekly, of August 9, 1862, has a double-paged picture of the battle of Charles City Road, or Glendale; and in the article describing the engagement says this of the Sixteenth New York:

> "On the left the veteran Sixteenth New York, in white straw hats so kindly presented to them by the colonel's thoughtful wife, —that Sixteenth whose record was of only twelve missing to 228 killed and wounded,—a proportion far below the average of most other regiments, were lying down for better protection; and on the right was another good regiment, the Twenty-seventh New York."

This refers to the location of the regiment in the forenoon. After dark, the regiments of Bartlett's brigade were ordered forward of the position occupied by the artillery, as shown in the picture in *Harper's*, and were holding it at the time when General Slocum reported his command as "having expended nearly all of our ammunition and being entirely

destitute of rations." The artillery had retired before the infantry regiments of Slocum's division were withdrawn in the manner so well described by Adjutant Bicknell, the historian of the Fifth Maine [1]:

"About one o'clock at night, upon the assurance of our general that that place was no place for his boys, the men were aroused from their slumbers, and bid be ready to move. Wearied and tired, even amid the dangers which surrounded them, the great majority of the men were glad, even then, to get one hour of quiet rest. Strict orders were issued that no noise should be made; and, upon the march, orders were transmitted from one officer to another in a low whisper. It seems that there was an aperture of a thousand yards in the rebel lines which had been discovered, and through that, under cover of darkness, we proposed to escape. The utmost caution was required that the movement should not be revealed to the watchful enemy. Everything which would make the slightest noise was ordered to be tightly secured or thrown away. Death was the penalty of speaking aloud, or striking a match. The march commenced. Every bush seemed to us to be a watchful Southern sentinel. Upon either side of the route a slight skirmish was kept up between the pickets to deceive the enemy. As we moved on, we soon passed the battle-fields of the day previous. What if now we should be discovered? But no, on we go in safety. The campfires of the rebels shone brightly but a short distance from our route. General Kearny rides along as we pass the most dangerous points. 'Move on steady, boys,' whispered the General as we passed, 'but if the hounds tread on your heels, kick.' Aye, thought we, surely we will. Yet almost perfect silence reigned. The following morning found us well upon the road, the enemy in our rear, and Slocum's little band, for the most part, safe. I should here note that there were some few of our men, who, in the haste of the moment were overlooked, and hence not awakened. Being taken prisoners by the rebels in the morning, after

[1] Page 114.

a short confinement they were liberated. They reported, that, in the morning following our escape, the enemy sent a flag of truce to demand our surrender, supposing it impossible for us to escape; and they were very much taken by surprise to find that their bird had flown. By sunrise, after a cool and easy march, we were on the summit of Malvern Hill. Here we found almost the entire army in line of battle, and the mouths of hundreds of cannon pointing to the enemy's land."

Osborn's battery came through on the change of base, fighting at Peach Orchard, Savage's Station, White Oak Swamp; marching with the rear guard in order for quick action, with the caissons leading the guns; and taking prominent part in winning the victory at Malvern Hill. Bartlett's brigade went to work building breastworks and constructing abatis. The sixteenth were under arms during the progress of the action, but were rather witnesses of, than participants in the battle of Malvern Hill on July 1st. As the day advanced victory for our arms seemed to be assured, and our men lay down weary and hungry to get a few hours of much needed sleep.

No attempt will be made to trace the movements of the Fourth and the Fifth Corps on their uninterrupted march to the James. The several corps reached their designated positions on the river, between an early hour on June 30th and sunrise of July 1st, and in the afternoon, at Malvern Hill, was fought the last of the seven days' battles, a series of engagements which may be regarded as among the most memorable operations recorded in the annals of war. In the change of base every organization of the army came through intact, and, at 4 P.M. on June 30th, all the trains and a herd of twenty-five hundred beef cattle were parked and corralled on the banks of the James.

General McClellan closes a review of these days and operations in his *Own Story*, as follows:

"During the Seven Days the Army of the Potomac consisted of 143 regiments of infantry, 55 batteries, and less than 8 regiments of cavalry all told. The opposing Confederate army consisted of 187 regiments of infantry, 79 batteries, and 14 regiments of cavalry. The losses of the two armies from June 25th to July 2nd were:—

	Killed	*Wounded*	*Missing*	*Total*
Confederate Army	2,823	13,703	3,223	19,749
Army of the Potomac	1,734	8,062	6,053	15,849

"The Confederate losses in killed and wounded alone were greater than the total losses of the Army of the Potomac in killed, wounded and missing.

"No praise can be too great for the officers and men who passed through these seven days of battle, enduring fatigue without a murmur, successfully meeting and repelling every attack made upon them, always in the right place at the right time, and emerging from the fiery ordeal a compact army of veterans, equal to any task that brave and disciplined men can be called upon to undertake. They needed now only a few days of well-earned repose, a renewal of ammunition and supplies, and reinforcements to fill the gaps made in their ranks by so many desperate encounters, to be prepared to advance again, with entire confidence, to meet their worthy antagonists in other battles."

CHAPTER XIII

HARRISON'S LANDING

THE leading brigade of Slocum's division left the right of the line at Malvern Hill at 11 o'clock P.M., July 1st, but the Sixteenth did not move until 2 A.M. of the 2nd, starting in a heavy rainstorm, and marching on bad roads through deep mud until 2 o'clock P.M., when it went into camp in a large wheatfield, and, after drawing a scant supply of rations and half a gill of whiskey per man, lay down in wet clothes on muddy ground and slept until the morning of the 3rd. Awakened by heavy cannonading on the left, it formed line and stood in the mud until the afternoon, when it marched a mile to a good camping place, drew a full supply of rations, and lay down for a night of comfortable and undisturbed sleep, the first it had enjoyed for a week. On the morning of July 4th, it moved a short distance to a new camp well supplied with water, cleared off the brush, pitched tents, and turned out to celebrate the day, the gunboats and batteries firing the national salute.

The morning report of June 26th showed 32 officers and 751 enlisted men present; the next morning report was made on July 4th, when 24 officers and 530 enlisted men were reported present, a difference in a week's fighting and marching of 8 officers and 221 enlisted men.

Colonel Howland, on arriving at Harrison's Landing, went on board a hospital boat, and proceeded to New York; Major Seaver reported to him in the following letter the

movements of the regiment, from the battle of Gaines's Mill:

"I improve the opportunity of sending you, by Hastings, the several company reports of the engagement of the 27th ult. We were under fire on Saturday the 28th, our pickets being driven in by a strong force. Shot and shell poured in right merrily from their fort in front of our new redoubt in the field we visited, but the men behaved well and did not leave till the pickets on our right were driven in, and four men wounded. On Monday June 30th, we were supporting a battery, with two of Hexamer's guns in our rear. The first shot they fired killed one man of Company F, and wounded two others; at another discharge Captain Parker was wounded by a fragment of shell passing through both legs. The guns were not ten rods from us and must have been poorly served. They were *silenced*.

"By the company reports, which I send you, you will readily ascertain our losses, which are considerable.

"To-day the total number present is 524, for duty 506, including of course all extra and daily duty men. The men are feeling well and seem quite cheerful, although there is here and there a sad shade discernible in the faces of some.

"I have heard to-day, with much sorrow, of the death of Lieutenant-Colonel Marsh. He has gone to his rest; God grant that his works, which were good, may follow him. A brave man has fallen.

"I am only anxious that you shall keep your mind at rest, give your body repose and speedily recover your health, and in a short time be able to resume your duties here, where I know you will be welcomed as never man was welcomed before.

"By advice with Colonel Bartlett he has detailed Captain Nevin acting Major. I hope it may not offend you.

"My report of the 27th affair was done in haste under orders to furnish it, which I did, reserving you the privilege of withdrawing it and putting in one of your own, which I am sure you will prefer doing, as I much prefer to have you do. I send you a copy of the paper."

General Slocum wrote Colonel Howland from Harrison's Landing and said: "As to your conduct and that of your regiment on the 27th I hear but one opinion. All speak in terms of praise—the strongest terms; they fought like veterans."

On the 5th of July, I rejoined the regiment from leave granted for wounds received on May 7th at West Point; reported for duty on the 6th, and went with the regiment on picket.

Meeting General Franklin a day or two after my return he said, "You had a wound that was good for six months' leave, and I fear that you have made a mistake in coming back so soon; the surgeon tells me it needs dressing daily." I told him that my wound would heal as fast on the James as on the St. Lawrence; but I found out my error in less than a month, and the almost hourly reminder of my military life, during the last forty-four years, is largely due to the fact that I rejoined the army before I had completely recovered from the wounds received at West Point.

President Lincoln visited the army on the 8th, and rode through the camps of the different corps with General McClellan and his staff, receiving most enthusiastic cheers from the soldiers, who had lost none of their confidence in, or affection for, their general and the commander-in-chief. It was here that General McClellan handed to the President his "Harrison Bar letter," probably the most unwise and unfortunate communication written by him in his military life. Up to that time the President had been McClellan's best friend in the Administration, where he was supported by the Secretaries of State and of the Navy, but was bitterly opposed by the Secretaries of War and of the Treasury. Suggestions as to policy of administration are seldom well received from subordinates, unless directly requested, and, later, this letter was effectively used by the opposing

secretaries and by their civilian friends in obtaining the order for General McClellan's removal from the command of the Army of the Potomac.

Captain Franklin Palmer rejoined the regiment on the 8th, from sick leave given at Tunstall's Station on the 18th of May. He showed marked signs of the severe fever he had contracted on the march to the Chickahominy, but entered upon his duties, and actively performed them until disabled by a severe wound, near the close of the last battle in which the regiment was engaged.

General Franklin, about the middle of July, ordered an inspection of the several organizations of his corps. Captain Martin T. McMahon, Aide-de-Camp, inspected the Sixteenth, and after completing that of Company G he turned to me and said, "If you were to lie down in front of your company, you would outflank it at both ends."

Colonel Howland rejoined the regiment on the 24th of July, and remained till the 31st, when he left on sick leave, never to be with us again. He was visited at his tent by every officer and man of the regiment, to whom he gave a pleasant greeting, expressing his appreciation of their welcome and his desire to rejoin them as soon as his physicians would consent. While in the camp, he recommended a list of promotions to fill the thirteen vacancies created by casualties in action, deaths from disease, and resignations. These included the promotion of Major Seaver to be Lieutenant-Colonel *vice* Marsh, and Captain Frank Palmer to be Major *vice* Seaver. He also gave directions for sending officers on recruiting service to fill up the regiment, and authorized the officers so detailed to offer twenty dollars to be paid to each recruit on joining the regiment, in addition to all Federal, State, and local bounties.

During its stay at Harrison's Landing the regiment changed camp several times, and was daily engaged in

building breastworks, picketing, and doing whatever would tend to make our position secure against the enemy under arms, and the greater enemy—malarial fever—against which fortitude and valor were ineffective.

Captain W. R. Hopkins, Quartermaster of Slocum's division, wrote to Colonel Howland on August 3, 1862, as follows:

. . . "At 11 P.M. July 31st, Wead (Lieutenant Sixteenth, and Aide-de-Camp on division staff) came to my tent and said I was wanted at headquarters' tent to drink the health of Major-General Slocum. It seemed like a dream to all of us, and perhaps as much so to General Slocum as to any. An orderly simply handed in an official letter, addressed to Major-General Henry W. Slocum, which contained a commission from the President. It is very flattering to General Slocum that his two previous appointments were as unexpectedly received. On Tuesday night, the 5th, we contemplate having a grand major-general's blow out." . . .

General Slocum sent for me in the afternoon of the 5th of August, and stated that there would be a gathering at his quarters that evening, and that he wished me to attend. "Come directly to my tent and go in with me," he said. I was not informed of his object in inviting me to a meeting which, I understood, was to be attended by general and field officers to celebrate, with appropriate banquet and toasts, his promotion as major-general. I went to the general's tent, however; he took my arm and proceeded to the large tent where a number of officers of his division and many general officers from other divisions received him with hearty cheers. Briefly acknowledging their greeting, he said,—"Gentlemen, I have the pleasure of introducing Colonel Curtis, who is to command one of the new regiments now being raised in New York under the President's call for three

hundred thousand men." In acknowledging the welcome extended to me, I said, "It does not become me to dispute the words of my friend, General Slocum, but I am totally ignorant of any official action of the Governor of my State, authorizing me to assume the title of colonel." General Slocum said that he had been advised by a member of the military committee of the Senatorial District, appointed by Governor Morgan, that the committee had selected me to command the regiment which was being recruited in Ogdensburg. This member was the Honorable William A. Wheeler, an old political and legislative associate of General Slocum, to whom he had, without consulting me, written, requesting him to procure for me the command of a regiment. No political questions had ever been discussed by General Slocum and myself; hence he was unacquainted with the fact that I was a member of the Democratic party, and was equally uninformed as to the strong feeling on the part of certain leading Republicans in St. Lawrence County, against giving appointments or promotion to men of the Democratic party; in their eyes, military service, no matter how commendable, was not worthy of the slightest consideration, if political affiliations were unsatisfactory. These gentlemen were perfectly sincere and, what was more, were able to convince Governor Morgan that the political machinery of St. Lawrence County could not safely be interfered with by a candidate for the United States Senate, and, consequently, my name never appeared upon the roster of the One Hundred and Sixth New York.

The most exciting incident which occurred while we were at Harrison's Landing was the shelling of our camps at one o'clock A.M., August 1st, by the batteries which the enemy had brought to the south side of the James. Preparations had been made to receive him, and our batteries and gunboats soon sent him beyond the reach of our shot; and while

we remained on the river he carefully avoided getting within our range.

On the 4th of August, General Hooker had a very spirited engagement with the enemy at Malvern Hill, and succeeded in occupying that position and in driving the Confederate forces four miles on the New Market road towards Richmond, capturing more than one hundred prisoners. In the afternoon, General Hooker received the following communication from General McClellan:

"Under advices I have received from Washington, I think it necessary for you to abandon the position to-night, getting everything away before daylight."

This order was sent after the receipt of the following from General Halleck, dated August 3, 1862, 7.45 P.M.:—

"It is determined to withdraw your army from the Peninsula to Aquia Creek. You will take immediate measures to effect this, covering the movement the best you can. Its real object and withdrawal should be concealed even from your own officers."

On the 6th of August, the regiment was paid; the few articles brought down by the sutler were held at such a high price, that the money left by the paymaster went a very short way in supplying the officers and men with the necessaries and luxuries they earnestly desired. On the 9th of August, under the provisions of General Orders No. 91, War Department, July 29, 1862, our regimental band was mustered out of service. An act of Congress directed the mustering out of all regimental bands, and thereafter only brigade bands were allowed.

Following the orders of the 3rd of August to withdraw the army from the Peninsula, the transportation facilities

had been greatly increased, and 12,500 sick and slightly wounded men were sent to Northern hospitals, the last departing the evening of the 17th. Five days before this I had been sent, with a number of other fever cases, to a newly established hospital at Point Lookout, Maryland.

The report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War,[1] gives the testimony of General Halleck, showing the source of the influence under which the President acted in ordering the withdrawal of the Army of the Potomac from the James River:—

"In accordance with the direction of the President, I left here on the afternoon of the 24th (July) and reached the camp of General McClellan on the afternoon of the 25th. I stated to the general that the object of my visit was to ascertain from him his views and wishes in regard to future operations. He said that he proposed to cross the James River at that point, attack Petersburg, and cut off the enemy's communication by that route south, making no further demonstration for the present against Richmond. I stated to him frankly my views in regard to the danger and impracticability of the plan, to most of which he frankly agreed."

General Halleck's views, as to the *impracticability* of operating from the James River as a base, were accepted by the President, and the orders of the 3rd of August were issued, withdrawing the Army of the Potomac from the James River. It may be well to recall some of the losses sustained by this noble army in the principal battles, fought after its departure from the James River, till its return under General Grant, twenty-two months later, to the base from which its final triumph was won. In Major-General

[1] Pt. 1, p. 454.

Pope's campaign, including the battles of Cedar Mountain and those fought between August 16, and September 2, 1862; the Maryland campaign; the surrender of Maryland Heights, Harper's Ferry, and Bolivar Heights, September 12–15, 1862; Fredericksburg; Chancellorsville; the Gettysburg campaign; and Rapidan to the James River, there were 18,683 killed, 95,223 wounded, and 46,244 missing, a total of 160,150 men, more than ten army corps, and twice the average number of men taken into the battles fought by the Army of the Potomac. This number was lost in action, and in addition large numbers by death from disease and exposure. These facts may well be considered in passing judgment on the generalship of one who opposed the plans of General McClellan, and the plan pursued by General Grant, operating from the true base on the James River in destroying the Army of Northern Virginia. It is stated that the battles of Cedar Mountain and the Second Bull Run should be counted with the unfruitful losses of the battles fought by the Army of the Potomac. This is done on the common-sense theory that General Pope's army should have been called back to the defences of Washington, when the Army of the Potomac was recalled from the Peninsula, so that they might have been united near the base of operation and been suitably supplied for an active campaign, instead of having been pushed forward to be overwhelmed by the superior force of the enemy, released from guarding its base on the retirement of the Army of the Potomac from the James River. There was not sufficient water transportation to carry the Army of the Potomac to Pope's support, operating where it was at the time the recall of the Army of the Potomac was ordered. General Halleck was promptly advised of this want of transportation, and the delay in bringing the Army of the Potomac to Pope's field of operations, with its complete equipments to engage in battle, should be charged to the

general-in-chief, Major-General H. W. Halleck. The armies of the Potomac and of Virginia, united on the James River, or at the defences of Washington, would have been in a condition to repel General Lee's advance, or to engage him in offensive operations.

CHAPTER XIV

LEAVING THE PENINSULA

ON Saturday, the 16th of August, at 4 o'clock P.M., the Sixteenth New York left its camp at Harrison's Landing, and marched to Charles City Court House, where it bivouacked for the night; on Sunday it crossed the Chickahominy, near its mouth, over the longest pontoon bridge which at that time had been laid for the passage of troops and army trains, and slept on the north side. On Monday, the 18th, the regiment marched through the City of Williamsburg, and encamped near the battle-field of May 5, 1862.

Williamsburg, Virginia! What memories were awakened by its sight! This ancient city, incorporated in 1632, with a population which has never exceeded that of many of our modern villages, had been the scene of more important events in Colonial and Revolutionary times than any other town or city in the colonies. Here was founded, in 1692, by royal charter, the second college in America, the College of William and Mary. On its rolls were to be placed the names of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, John Marshall,—in fact, all of the leading men of the South, who rendered conspicuous services in winning our National Independence and in establishing a government which has proved the most permanent and the best yet devised for the welfare and happiness of its citizens. Its students founded here the most important of all college societies, that of Phi Beta Kappa; the authority to organize a chapter of this society is considered proof of worth and creditable standing

among the learned institutions of the country. William and Mary College was the first to teach that science which, as Burke said, "does more to quicken and invigorate the understanding than all other kinds of learning put together," for here, under the professorship of George Wythe, was founded the first Department of Law in America.

This city was the seat of Government from 1669 to 1779, and here was enacted one of the most noteworthy laws of the General Assembly of Virginia, that providing for the erection of an asylum for the care and treatment of the insane; this, the first State institution of that character in America, was opened in 1773, twenty years before the European asylums abandoned the use of hunger, chains and chastisements in the treatment of those with disordered minds. Twenty-five years earlier, the Quakers of Philadelphia had set aside a single ward in a hospital for the care of this class of patients; but credit for an institution specially devoted to this purpose is due to the wisely directed philanthropy of those distinguished Virginians who were first to move in this benevolent enterprise, as they were among the earliest champions of the Revolutionary cause.

The Raleigh Tavern was the most important of the unofficial institutions of the city; there, legislative committees met, and conferences were held to discuss great affairs of State. In this famous hostelry, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Francis Lightfoot Lee, Dabney Carr, and Thomas Jefferson met for consultation as to the best means to procure unity of action among the colonies, and drew up the Resolutions which were adopted on the 12th of March, 1773, by the General Assembly, providing for the appointment of "a standing Committee of Correspondence and Inquiry," to correspond with committees appointed by other colonies on matters relating to their common welfare. This was the first legislative action which put into execution a measure

which directly led to the call for the first Continental Congress, which met in Philadelphia, on the 4th day of September, 1774. In this body, Richard Henry Lee presented the resolution of the General Convention of Virginia, adopted on the 15th day of May, 1776, "to declare the United Colonies free and independent states;" this resolution was the natural sequence and consummation of the work begun by the Raleigh Tavern committee of 1773.

In this tavern, at different dates, two young men were quartered when they came to Williamsburg to pay court to the objects of their early affection. The first was a young surveyor, asking permission to address the beautiful and rich Miss Mary Cary. He received from her father the chilling reply, "If that is your business here, sir, I wish you to leave the house, for my daughter has been accustomed to ride in her own coach." It is one of the traditions of the old town that, when General Washington marched through Williamsburg at the head of the army, on his way to capture Cornwallis at Yorktown, he filed off the Duke of Gloucester Street into Woodpecker Street, that he might march by the house which he had left in a state of dejection, thirty years before.

The young lawyer who wrote the immortal Declaration of Independence returned to his room in the Raleigh after a similar rebuff from Miss Rebecca Burwell. These two ladies were afterward led to the altar by the brothers Ambler. Like Washington, Jefferson, in good time, found consolation in the charms of a widow and married Mrs. Skelton of Virginia. Both were rich and beautiful, and each was sought by numerous suitors. Washington won by his military bearing and by the glory gained in the colonial wars; Jefferson brought to his aid his skill in accompanying the lady's harpsichord with his voice and violin.

Marching to Yorktown, our regiment bivouacked near

the field on which General Cornwallis's army had surrendered to General Washington, after having been besieged by the American Army and its French allies under General Lafayette, from September 30th to October 19, 1781. Several historians, who have written of this important event in our Revolutionary struggle, have noted an interesting incident connected with the surrender of the British flags. After the British troops had grounded their arms, twenty-eight officers brought forward their colors,[1] to surrender them to the representatives of the American Army, but when these officers found that they were confronted by a like number of sergeants, they hesitated and stood motionless with their encased colors. Colonel Alexander Hamilton, Acting Adjutant-General on the staff of General Lincoln, rode down the line to ascertain the cause of the delay; he was informed by the British officers that they were unwilling to submit to the humiliation of surrendering their colors to enlisted men, and asked to be permitted to place them in the hands of commissioned officers. Colonel Hamilton returned to Generals Lincoln and Washington, and reported the wishes and feelings of the British officers; General Washington then ordered that the junior officer, in years and commission, in the American army should be detailed to receive the colors and hand them to the sergeants. Ensign Robert Wilson of the New York Line, eighteen years of age, in compliance with this order of Washington, passed down the line in front of the officers and transferred their colors to the hands of the sergeants.

After the arrival of Bartlett's brigade on their camping-ground, Adjutant Robert P. Wilson of the Sixteenth New York, Acting Assistant Adjutant-General on the brigade staff, invited Colonel Bartlett and other officers of the brigade

[1] Now in the library of the Military Academy at West Point.

to walk out on the field where his grandfather, on the 19th day of October, 1781, had mitigated the grief of his Majesty's officers, by transferring twenty-eight of their flags to the hands of the American sergeants.

It is worth remembering, that, as a result of the Revolutionary War and of the War of 1812, this nation has, stored among her military trophies, more British flags than can be found in any country outside of the British dominion; and that, furled or floating, the flag that

> "has braved, a thousand years,
> The battle and the breeze,"

is looked upon by Americans with a respect and consideration, second only to that which they feel for the Star Spangled Banner.

On the next day, the regiment marched to Warwick Court House, and thence to Newport News, and boarding the steamer there, it arrived on the 24th of August at Alexandria, and bivouacked near its first camp in Virginia. The Sixteenth New York had left Alexandria, for the Peninsula, with 820 officers and men; it returned in three months and four days, with 430 officers and men present for duty, having had 70 killed in action, 65 totally disabled by wounds, and 255 wounded and sick in general hospital.

CHAPTER XV

THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC BROKEN UP

PORTER'S corps arrived at Aquia Creek on the 21st of August; the next day it went by rail to Falmouth, marched to Deep Creek and thence to join Pope's army. Heintzelman's corps landed at Alexandria on the 22nd, and proceeded by rail to join Pope near Warrenton Junction. On the 24th, General McClellan reached Aquia Creek, reported to General Halleck, and, on the 26th, was directed to leave Burnside in charge at that place and go to Alexandria, where, under orders from the general-in-chief, he forwarded to General Pope the troops of the Army of the Potomac as they arrived. The infantry of Franklin's corps landed at Alexandria on the 24th, and on the 27th Taylor's brigade of Slocum's division went by rail to Bull Run Bridge. The brigade crossed the bridge, marched about two miles on the Manassas Plains, and met a strong force of cavalry, artillery and infantry under General Fitzhugh Lee, who used his artillery with such effect that he drove the brigade back across the bridge, and inflicted a heavy loss, including the mortal wounding of its commander, Brigadier-General George W. Taylor. General Halleck was without information as to the location of Pope's forces or those of the enemy, and this uncertainty made him the more insistent that all of Franklin's corps should be pushed forward, without waiting for his artillery or small arms ammunition in excess of the forty rounds carried by the men. The sad experience gained by sending Taylor without

artillery caused General McClellan to retain the remainder of Franklin's corps until the 29th, and then under great pressure from the general-in-chief it marched to Annandale and bivouacked for the night. By unloading twenty wagons of Banks's supply train, and filling them with ammunition in Alexandria, Franklin obtained sufficient ammunition to enable him to march, at 6 A.M., on the 30th, to meet the enemy, although insufficiently supplied with artillery.

The corps passed through Fairfax and Centreville and halted near the Bull Run battle-field of 1861, having marched twenty miles in a broiling sun. The sound of artillery was first heard as we approached Fairfax, and at Centreville we met wounded men. Their reports produced alternating feelings, for while one would encourage the hope of victory for our side, another would depress us with fears of defeat on that field where victory would be sweeter and defeat more bitter than on any field where we had contended. These reports caused the officers and men of the Sixteenth New York, fatigued as they were, to wish for an order to advance to the support of our friends in the front, but we received an order to move into a field on the right of the road and eat our supper. Before the fires newly lighted to make our coffee had warmed the water in our cups, the brigade was ordered to reform, two regiments on each side of the road, and directed to permit *no man* to pass our line. No troops were in sight on our front when we received this order, but in a short time a large number of wounded men and stragglers bore down upon us. The stampede was not so serious as at first appeared, but we soon stopped enough men, not wounded, to more than double our regimental lines. At dark, Bartlett's brigade moved back half a mile, formed line of battle and lay on its arms through the night. In the meantime Pope's army was retiring toward Centreville.

Early on Sunday morning, August 31st, the brigade crossed Cub Run, and Company B and the Pioneer Corps of the Sixteenth New York destroyed the bridge, under the direction of Lieutenant R. C. Shannon, Fifth Maine, aide on the staff of General Slocum. At this same bridge, on July 21, 1861, the 32-pounder, called by the boys "Long Tom," had been captured. This was remembered by the members of the Sixteenth, as the gun which had been stalled in the road before daylight, when the regiment had filed out and marched by it on our way to the left of McDowell's line at the Grigsby House. Afterwards, this gun had been moved toward the right of the line of battle, and fallen a trophy to the enemy. Late in the afternoon, Slocum's division fell back to Centreville.

While the Sixth Corps was awaiting developments at Centreville on the afternoon of Monday, the 1st day of September, an incident occurred which will interest those who knew one of the ablest of our generals, and one of the most popular officers connected with the troops composing the Sixth Corps, and the army as well. On the organization of Franklin's division in October, 1861, General Kearny commanded the First Brigade. Later, he was promoted to the command of a division which, on the organization of corps, became a part of the Third Corps; but whether in the Sixth, or in another corps, he was always kindly remembered by the soldiers of the First Division.

A body of troops marched down the road in an orderly and soldierly manner, appearing so different from others we had seen come from the front that great interest was awakened in them, and the soldiers of Slocum's division, Sixth Corps, rushed to the side of the road along which they were marching and called out, "What troops are these?" They answered "Kearny's division, Third Corps, Army of the Potomac," in a tone and spirit indicating their pride and

satisfaction in belonging to an army which no one of its members ever mentioned without feelings of exultation, a corps which enjoyed the respect and confidence of its associates and commanders, and a division led by one of the ablest and most popular officers in the army. Hearty cheers were given them, and when Major-General Kearny approached, riding in rear of his column, he was greeted most enthusiastically and given a welcome which was spontaneous and exceptionally warm.

The following extract is from the diary of Lieutenant R. C. Shannon, Fifth Maine, an aide on General Slocum's staff; later, lieutenant-colonel, and assistant adjutant-general, U. S. V.:

"General's Kearny's last day was perhaps the proudest. When he rode with a few orderlies along Centreville Heights, what a splendid ovation he received from the troops without regard to division or corps! They rushed from all sides and greeted him with the wildest huzzas. Three hours after, he had ridden boldly to his death."

He was marching to a new position. While inspecting his lines, in a rain storm and in the shades of evening, he rode unconsciously into the enemy's lines. General Longstreet, in front of whose line he was killed, relates, in his book *From Manassas to Appomattox*,[1] the circumstances attending his death:

"While my reliefs were going around, General Philip Kearny rode to my line in search of his division. Finding himself in the presence of Confederates he turned his horse and put spurs, preferring the danger of musket-balls to humiliating surrender. Several challenges called, but not heeded, were followed by the

[1] Page 194.

ring of half a dozen muskets, when he fell mortally hurt, and so perished one of the most gallant and daring of the Union generals."

General Fitzhugh Lee, in his *Life of General Robert E. Lee*,[2] refers to the death of General Kearny as follows:

"The loss on both sides was heavy, the Federals losing two of their best generals, Kearny and Stevens. The former was a dashing officer of undoubted courage and great merit. Had he lived he might have been an army commander. He rode into the Confederate lines, thinking they were occupied by a portion of his troops. It was nearly dark and raining. Seeing his mistake, he whirled his horse around, threw himself forward in the saddle, Indian fashion, and attempted to escape. A few men close to him fired, and he fell from his horse. General Lee had his body returned to the Federal lines the next day, with a courteous note to Pope."

General Lee's letter read as follows:

"MAJOR GENERAL JOHN POPE:—

"*Sir:*—The body of General Kearny was brought from the field last night, and he was dead. I send it forward under a flag of truce, thinking the possession of his remains may be a consolation to his family. R. E. LEE, *General*."

Major George P. Hawkes, 21st Massachusetts, later brigadier-general, states, in a letter to his brother written three days after, when a paroled prisoner of war, that he had himself reached the enemy's lines but a moment before General Kearny rode up to his side and asked, "Captain, which troops are these? I'm looking for my command." The Major replied, "General Kearny, that is a Confederate line, and we are both securely in their power. It is sure

[2] Page 195.

death to attempt to escape; please, sir, do not attempt an escape, both for your own and the country's sake." Kearny said, looking about him, "I've a good horse here, and can depend on him every time; he'll carry me through." As he turned his horse the Confederate officer called out, "You are crazy, man. You can't get ten feet. Don't be foolish." General Kearny muttered, "They couldn't hit a barn."

Philip Kearny, the father of General Kearny, purchased, in 1796, ten thousand acres of land, situated on the west side of St. Lawrence County, running from the river south twenty miles. This tract has been subdivided and is now owned by prosperous farmers in Hammond, Rossie and Gouverneur. The places retaining the name of the original proprietor are the Kearny Iron Ore Bed, and the Kearny Bridge over the Oswegatchie River, near the site of the elder Kearny's summer cottage. General Kearny, from his boyhood to the beginning of the Civil War, came nearly every summer to this section, and was warmly received by the early settlers on farms purchased from his father. Later in life, he was welcomed at the famous hostelry kept by Peter Van Buren, and extended to his friends kindly greetings and the best of cheer.

Young Kearny, in his early visits to Northern New York, delighted to ride the spirited and unbroken colts he found there, the descendants of Ogden's "Messenger," one of the most distinguished sons of "Imported Messenger," which was the most valuable and impressive sire ever brought to America. Kearny's dare-devil riding over the corduroy roads of those early days was a subject of serious concern to the elderly women, and, when he was heard coming along the roads at breakneck speed, the doors would be filled with the frightened dames, prophesying with uplifted hands that the boy Kearny would never die in bed, but be killed

by reckless riding. His biographer, General J. Watts de Peyster, gives in his *Personal and Military History of Philip Kearny*[1] the following account of one of his early exploits, which doubtless occurred on the long causeway in the town of Rossie.

"When a boy, young Phil Kearny was a reckless rider and a perfect horse-killer. He rode just as fearlessly over the worst as over the best roads. Upon one occasion, often adverted to in the family, while quite a little chap, eight or nine years old, he frightened his father almost to death, galloping his horse furiously for miles over an old corduroy road full of holes and inequalities. It must have been an extraordinary feat and escape, since it was often referred to by men who were too bold riders themselves to dwell upon anything which was not something astonishing in its display of daring."

When the circumstances of his death became known in St. Lawrence County, the older persons, who had known him in his youth, recalled the prophecy of that period and its double fulfilment, for, mounted at the head of his troops in Mexico, he lost an arm, and, riding before his division at Ox Hill, near Chantilly, Virginia, he fell from his horse pierced by an enemy's bullet, the victim of a valor which through life was unsurpassed.

Frank Johnson, a lad in 1859, was an employee in Van Buren's Hotel when Major Kearny sojourned there for several days, and frequently aided the major in putting on his glove, for which he received thanks and the kindly wish that, "you may never lose an arm; it is inconvenient not to be able to put on a glove." This boy, still in his teens, volunteered in the One Hundred and Forty-second New York, and in the intrenchments in front of Petersburg had his left

[1] Page 31.

arm shattered by an enemy's bullet, and when he came from the operating table said, "Well, the good wishes of General Kearny did not save my arm." It is evident that Johnson has never regretted that he went to the war; and it is possible that his own misfortunes have caused him to take a greater interest in the welfare of the soldiers and their dependents, for certain it is that no one in St. Lawrence County has labored more faithfully for the veterans than this comrade, during the more than forty years that he has worn an empty sleeve.

At 5 P.M. the first day of September, it commenced raining and continued long enough to convert the five or six inches of dust we had marched through into thin mud, making the walking so difficult that we were from dark until daylight in marching six miles to Fairfax. Late in the afternoon we resumed our march and went into camp near Alexandria, at 10 P.M.

Following Franklin's corps, Sumner's corps, a part of Gregg's cavalry and Couch's division landed in Alexandria, and were sent to the front of the fortifications about Washington, without reserve ammunition, carrying only as many rounds as their cartridge-boxes would hold. On the 30th, General McClellan reported to the general-in-chief, "You now have every man of the Army of the Potomac who is within my reach." On the same day, the War Department announced, in Orders, the commanders of the armies operating in Virginia:

"General Burnside commands his own corps, except those which have been temporarily detached and assigned to General Pope.

"General McClellan commands the Army of the Potomac that has not been sent forward to General Pope.

"General Pope commands the Army of Virginia and all the forces temporarily attached to it.

"All the forces are under the command of Major-General Halleck, General-in-chief."

Late in the evening of the 30th, General McClellan telegraphed General Halleck:

"I have sent to the front all my troops, with the exception of Couch's division, and have given the orders necessary to insure its being disposed of as you directed. I hourly expect the return of one of my aides, who will give authentic news from the field of battle.

"I cannot express to you the pain and mortification I have experienced to-day in listening to the distant sound of the firing of my men. As I can be of no further use here, I respectfully ask that, if there is a probability of the conflict being renewed to-morrow, I may be permitted to go to the scene of battle with my staff, merely to be with my own men, if nothing more; they will fight none the worse for my being with them. If it is not deemed best to entrust me with the command even of my own army, I simply ask to be permitted to share their fate on the field of battle. Please reply to this to-night.

"I have been engaged for the last few hours in doing what I can to make arrangements for the wounded. I have started out all the ambulances now landed.

"As I have sent my escort to the front, I would be glad to take some of Gregg's cavalry with me, if allowed to go."

Twenty-four hours later General Halleck telegraphed McClellan:

"I beg of you to assist me in this crisis with your ability and experience. I am entirely tired out."

To this McClellan promptly replied:

"I am ready to afford you any assistance in my power, but you will readily perceive how difficult an undefined position such as I now hold must be."

General McClellan remained in Alexandria as ordered, after arriving from the Peninsula, doing what he could in forwarding troops and supplies to the front, and arranging for the care of the wounded as they arrived from the battlefield.

On the 1st day of September he was ordered to Washington by General Halleck, and verbally directed to take charge of the defences of the capital. During the day the serious disasters attending General Pope's operations became fully known, and early on the morning of the 2nd, the President, without consulting with his Cabinet or his General-in-chief, directed General McClellan to take command and caused the following order to be issued:

"Major-General McClellan will have command of the fortifications of Washington and of all troops for the defence of the capital."

CHAPTER XVI

THE MARYLAND CAMPAIGN INCLUDING THE BATTLE OF CRAMPTON'S PASS

AFTER General Lee had defeated General Pope and driven his army to the fortifications of Washington, he marched to Leesburg, crossed the Potomac, and concentrated his forces near Frederickstown between the 2nd and 7th of September. From this position he could threaten Washington and Baltimore, and expected to draw the Union army from the south side of the Potomac, where it menaced his communications with Richmond. When this should be accomplished, he proposed to march into Western Maryland and to threaten Pennsylvania. He expected that his occupation of Frederickstown would compel the Union forces to evacuate Martinsburg and Harper's Ferry, and open a safe line of communication with his base through the Shenandoah Valley. Finding that Harper's Ferry was still held by the Union forces, he directed "Stonewall" Jackson, on the 9th of September, to reduce Harper's Ferry and clear the Valley, and then join the rest of the army at Boonsborough or Hagerstown.

General McClellan gave a broader construction to the order which closed the last chapter, than did his immediate superiors. He believed it his duty, as commander "of all the troops for the defence of the capital," to pursue and drive from Maryland the forces of the enemy whose presence had caused his assignment to this command. General

Halleck defined its terms as limiting his authority to the command of the troops within the fortifications and their operations in the immediate vicinity of the capital, and questioned his right, without further orders, to pursue the enemy or to direct the movement of troops beyond the defences of Washington. McClellan neither asked nor waited for additional orders, but assigned General Banks, with a suitable garrison, to hold the fortifications, and proceeded in three columns to meet Lee's army; General Burnside to command the right column, consisting of the First and Ninth Corps; General Sumner commanding the centre column, consisting of the Second and Twelfth Corps; General Franklin commanding the left column, consisting of the Sixth Corps and Couch's division of the Fourth Corps, Couch moving on the road nearest to the Potomac. These corps left their camps in Virginia, and the fortifications north of Washington, between the 3d and the 6th of September.

On the 13th of September, the Ninth Corps was at Middletown, the First, Second and Twelfth Corps at Frederick, the Sixth Corps near Jefferson, Couch's division at Licksville, and Sykes's division at Frederick. General Halleck was much disturbed by the advance of the army, and cautioned McClellan against "stripping too much the forts on the Virginia side; the enemy may draw off the mass of our forces, and then attempt to attack from the Virginia side of the Potomac." On the 13th, General Halleck expressed fear for the safety of the capital, "Until you know more certainly the enemy's force south of the Potomac you are wrong in thus uncovering the capital."

General Lee's order directing the movements of his army came into the hands of General McClellan on the 13th, and he ordered the army to advance without waiting for the trains,—the First and Ninth Corps to Turner's Pass, and the Sixth Corps to Crampton's Pass. The First and Ninth

Corps fought the battle of Turner's Pass from 2 P.M. until dark on the 14th of September, and slept on their arms on the summit of South Mountain. The Sixth Corps fought the battle of Crampton's Pass from 3 P.M. until night on the same day. The Sixteenth held a prominent place in the action, one of the hottest during its term of service, and the only one in which its valor was rewarded by a victory which enabled it to sleep on the field of battle. The enemy at Crampton's Pass were all driven down the mountain side on the evening of the 14th, leaving their dead and wounded in our hands. At Turner's Pass the enemy departed between midnight and daylight, also leaving their dead and wounded. The operations in both battles were skilfully directed and heroically carried forward.

General McClellan had requested, on the 10th of September, that Colonel D. S. Miles, commanding the forces at Harper's Ferry and in that vicinity, should be ordered to report to him, that the troops might be usefully employed, but General Halleck declined to accede to this sensible suggestion, and Colonel Miles surrendered eleven thousand men and a large amount of stores the morning after the battles of Turner's and Crampton's Passes, when relief was within a few miles of him. The surrender was chiefly due to the fact that General Halleck had entirely misjudged the situation when he refused to act on McClellan's request that he should abandon the position.

The First Division of the Sixth Corps met the main force of the enemy at Crampton's Pass, sustaining a loss of 113 killed, 418 wounded, 2 missing, total 533. The Second Division, supporting the flank of the first, lost one killed, nineteen wounded, total twenty. The heaviest share of the losses in the First Division fell on Bartlett's brigade, 48 killed, 169 wounded, total 217. The Sixteenth New York took into action 270 officers and men and lost 18 killed,

43 wounded, total 61. A nominal list will be found in the Appendix, page 362.

A detailed account of the operations of the Sixteenth is graphically told in the letters of Lieutenant-Colonel Seaver and of Lieutenant Walling:

"Headquarters Sixteenth New York.
"In the Field, Crampton's Pass, Maryland, September 15, 1862.

"*My dear Colonel Howland:*—

"I give you joy for the conduct of the Sixteenth yesterday! Slocum's division went in and carried the Pass by storm. The Sixteenth led the advance, and we have one rebel battle-flag as a trophy, and mourn the loss of 18 men killed, 43 wounded, including Lieutenant Jones, a total of 61.

"I have no time or space to give you a full account. So, in brief, the Twenty-seventh New York and Ninety-sixth Pennsylvania were deployed as skirmishers. The Fifth Maine, with the Sixteenth on the right, advanced in line, in fine order under fire, to a crest within range of a stone wall at the base of the mountain, and of course, the edge of a wood. Here, protected by a fence, we fired for thirty minutes or more, and were relieved by the Thirty-second New York and the Eighteenth New York. Soon, being satisfied that the rebels could not be driven from behind the stone wall, the 'Jerseys' were brought up and led the charge. Newton's brigade followed, and Bartlett's was the third line of the advance, at the start. The fields were cleared and the stone wall carried at the point of the bayonet, and when the skirt of the wood at the base of the mountain was reached, your regiment led the charge. The men fought nobly and pressed on up the steep ascent under a perfect shower of bullets, and their example encouraged others, who faltered before the terrors of the enemy and the steepness of the hill, to follow, and, as I had expected to find, the rebels were drawn up to receive us. 'Down' went the men at my order, and *down* came a volley from a full regiment or more, and we returned the fire. We had them started, and—they could not help it—*they ran*. The line of our advance was marked by a train of cold and lifeless rebellious mortality, from the base to

the summit of the mountain. At sundown we held the Pass, and last night, for the first time, we slept on the field of battle."

From Lieutenant William H. Walling's letter to his sister:

"On Battle-field, Crampton's Pass, Maryland,
"September 15, 1862.

"Another eventful day has passed. Yesterday we went to meeting—not that peaceful, quiet kind that you probably participated in, but that kind in which graves are peopled. Slocum's division achieved a most glorious victory; drove the enemy from a strong and well-chosen position, capturing four hundred prisoners, three stands of colors, one light twelve pounder, and seven hundred muskets. We charged on the enemy and drove them up a steep mountain at the point of the bayonet. I came out as before, all right. A bullet grazed my nose starting blood. I can well say as David of old, 'O God, the Lord, thou hast covered my head in the day of battle.' For others I can not say as much. Company D had six killed, six wounded,—three mortally, one severely and two slightly. All others of the company present are well. Captain Parker and Lieutenant Barney joined us yesterday evening from hospital in Alexandria, where they were left sick when we marched from Virginia on this campaign. The company behaved most nobly. They are brave and gallant fellows."

As stated in an earlier chapter, I was sent to the general hospital at Harrison's Landing on the 11th of August, five days before the regiment left for Newport News, and two days later was transferred to a new hospital at Point Lookout, Maryland, with a number of wounded and sick officers. A week later I was transferred to Fairfax Street Hospital, Alexandria, Virginia, where I remained about two weeks in company with Captain George Parker and Lieutenant Albert M. Barney, who had entered the hospital on the 6th of September, the day the regiment entered upon the

Maryland campaign in pursuit of General Lee. Still in company with them, I rejoined the regiment the day of the battle of Crampton's Pass. We traveled by the Baltimore Railroad to Frederick City, Maryland, and thence by hired conveyance to Jefferson, through which village Slocum's division had passed, a few hours before our arrival. Here we heard the sound of the cannon, brought into action by both sides in beginning the battle of Crampton's Pass. No persuasions or offer of money could induce the driver of our carriage to take us to the battle-field, so we marched forward "in light order," for we were in no condition to carry baggage, as we had left the hospital against the protest of the surgeon. We proceeded on the line our troops had taken, and approached the place where our regiment had first met the enemy's fire, (as indicated by the bodies of our killed comrades,) just as Bartlett's brigade had reached the summit of the mountain up which it had driven the enemy, where it captured all who had not fled down the opposite slope. We had arrived too late to participate in one of the most brilliant and sanguinary engagements in which the regiment took part during its term of service. Failing to join our command in time to discharge the most important duty of a soldier's life, we entered upon the second, the care of the wounded and the burial of the dead. The enemy's fire of artillery and infantry had been very effective about six or seven hundred paces from the base of the mountain, where his advanced line was posted behind a stone wall. Between this line and half way up the side of the mountain, where the enemy made his last stand, the most of our killed and wounded were found.

Our ambulance corps had followed close after the firing line and carried the wounded below the mountain to the field hospital, and were bringing in, as fast as they were able, those wounded as the line ascended the mountain.

Here we had an opportunity to witness the field hospital service as organized after the battles on the Peninsula, and observed how much more efficient it was than the system first adopted. At the beginning, each regimental surgeon had sole charge of the wounded of his regiment, of bringing them from the field and of treating them in the field hospital. He had under his charge three ambulances and drivers, the musicians and detailed nurses. This system was unsatisfactory in many ways. The casualties are not usually distributed equally among the regiments; the losses in one regiment might exceed those in two or three others, and the numbers in one requiring attention exceed the facilities provided, while others had no use for the means at their disposal. While all medical officers, before being appointed, were examined to determine their technical and expert knowledge, it required little time in active service to disclose the fact that not every one who passed the examination was competent to perform difficult operations, or able to decide whether they should be capital or minor ones.

A reorganization was made at Harrison's Landing which made the brigade the unit, instead of the regiment, and these units were combined into divisions and corps organizations. The medical director in the field had general supervision over all. A captain was detailed to take charge of the ambulances of an army corps, a first lieutenant those of a division, and a second lieutenant of a brigade, and the latter had under his command three ambulances with drivers, two stretcher-bearers for each ambulance, a non-commissioned officer and nine men from each regiment. A chief operator was detailed, with a suitable number of medical assistants and dressers, for each brigade hospital, except when a single hospital was designated for a division.

This system was first put into operation in the Sixth Corps at the battle of Crampton's Pass, Maryland, September

14, 1862. First Lieutenant Wilson Hopkins, Sixteenth New York, was in command of the Ambulance Corps of General Slocum's division and had his first experience in removing the wounded from the field of battle. In a recent letter he summarizes his work and feelings on that occasion:

"Most of our badly wounded were brought to the hospital by dark. We then began to collect the wounded Confederates, who were found from the base of the mountain, increasing in numbers as we ascended, to the very top. We carried them to the field hospital until midnight, when the surgeons, overcome by exhaustion, were unable to care for more. We then collected all we could find and placed them in a group, near the top of the mountain, gave them food and water, built fires to warm them, and I directed two Confederates, found hiding behind the rocks and uninjured, to remain with their wounded comrades, attend to their wants and keep the fires burning. At sunrise the next morning, I went with my stretcher-bearers to the camp I had made for the wounded Confederates, and found the fires burned out, six of the forty dead, and learned that the two men I had placed in charge of them with directions to keep the fires burning, had, soon after I left them the night before, abandoned their charge and rejoined the Confederate army encamped in the valley beyond. We carried the survivors to the hospital, leaving a detail to bury the dead.

"This was my first experience in gathering the wounded from a battle-field after it was won. Many have visited such places and reported the sickening sights, but I cannot describe their ghastly realities. Later I became more familiar with such scenes, yet I can never forget that dreadful night; its horrors overshadow all spectacles I witnessed on other battle-fields, and the memory of what I there saw will remain with me to the end."

A large proportion of shots in battle are ineffective because of the universal habit of aiming too high. In the battle of Crampton's Pass the enemy occupied the higher

ground, and of the shots which were effective, a greater percentage was fatal than in ordinary battles, because the balls struck the heads or chests of our men. The list of casualties, found farther on, shows that nearly one-half of the number hit were killed outright or mortally wounded. In ordinary battles, the killed and the mortally wounded stand as about one to five of the wounded. The unequal distribution of casualties in a regiment was very marked in this battle. Company D lost in killed and mortally wounded more than one-third of the number taken into action, and more than one-third of fatal casualties sustained by the regiment. This was not in any way due to want of care or ability on the part of the commander, Lieutenant Walling, who was one of the most attentive and capable officers in the regiment. It fell to the lot of this company to advance on open ground over a longer distance than other companies.

After assisting in burying the dead and looking after the wounded, on the 15th, I visited the hospital containing the Confederate wounded, to ascertain whether any Mississippians from Vicksburg were among them. My brother, Andrew Jackson Curtis, had resided in that city from 1850 to 1858, when the decline, which followed an attack of yellow fever in 1855, leaving no hope for his recovery, induced him to return to his old home in St. Lawrence County, where he arrived a short time before his death which occurred on the 5th of July, 1858. When he left Mississippi, there were no signs of the approaching storm which swept the country from 1861 to 1865. In the days preceding his death he gave me the names of many men he knew in Vicksburg, and requested me to remember always that the Mississippians had been good to him. I announced his death to those whom he had referred to as warm friends, and a correspondence sprang up which continued until the suspension of mail facilities between the North and the South. I

continued to subscribe for the newspapers published in the larger cities of the South, which my brother had taken, and, from letters and papers received after the close of the Presidential Campaign of 1860, was prepared to believe that the secession of a single State would be followed by all the Gulf States at least. My statement made in the first war meeting in Depeyster, that the attack on Sumter was the beginning of a great war, was the expression of a conviction based on the statements contained in these letters and in the newspapers I had received from the South.

While the Sixteenth had met the Mississippians in battle, I had never met one off the firing line, and I visited the hospital where the Confederates were, hoping that I might find a friend of my brother, should there be any among them from that State. I soon ascertained that there was none in the battle of Crampton's Pass. The first cot I approached was occupied by a young man from North Carolina who had just come from the operating room where he had lost an arm. To my question "are there any Mississippians in this hospital?" he replied "I do not know, but I do know there are no men here who do not hate the Yankees. I regret the loss of my right arm because I cannot fight them as well as I did with two." I stated that I was not aware of his great loss or I would not have disturbed him. As I moved on, he followed me with imprecations that no well man in his senses would have uttered. I found in the hospital several to whom I was able to offer some comfort by way of relieving their apprehensions as to harsh treatment while prisoners of war. I recall two pitiable cases. One, a man with iron grey hair showing that he had passed the age of efficiency in active service, pathetically lamented the fact that he had lost all his money during the battle, and would be unable to procure articles essential to his comfort when in a military prison. I gave him a greenback

which he said was of a value nearly equal to his loss. The sincerity of his gratitude was unquestioned.

The other was a young lad, apparently sixteen or seventeen years old, who was filled with the most fearful forebodings as to his future and that of his family. His wound was not serious, but he conjured up the most unreasonable fantasies as to the effect his wounds and capture would have on his mother. He said "I fear she will die; then my younger brothers and sisters will perish, for my father was killed in one of the battles in Virginia last August." I suggested that he might be paroled, then he could go home and remain, as paroled prisoners were not put into action until exchanged. He was unwilling to listen to my suggestion that he might give his parole, and said he "could not promise not to fight the Yankees any more; if he did his mother would disown him; nor would he willingly leave his colors." He wished to fight until victory for the South was won, and if he could not do that, to die on the field as his father had. His greatest desire was to obtain an early exchange. His heart was stout to bear every hardship and peril except that insidious disease, more common to the young than to those of mature years, homesickness. This disease is best resisted or overcome in active service, but in camp, and especially a prison camp, it is neither resisted or controlled by medicine, fortitude or valor. I learned two weeks after, from the surgeon in charge of the hospital, that this brave and interesting Georgia boy had succumbed to that disease which, in Northern and Southern prisons alike, claimed many victims, nostalgia.

As I passed on, I found I was attracting unusual attention, and heard repeatedly, "looks enough like him to be his brother." I asked for an explanation and was informed that I bore a striking resemblance to a Lieutenant-Colonel Curtis, of the ——— Georgia. I did not meet my namesake, but

was glad to hear him well spoken of by his associates. I have been addressed, by perfect strangers from Alabama, Georgia and Tennessee, as Curtis, under different titles, and when, on a closer inspection, they found I did not know them, nor they me, each said I bore a striking resemblance to one of his neighbors. I have no knowledge that I have relatives in the South, beyond a family tradition that a near descendant of William Curtis went from Boston to the South in the seventeenth century. It is a subject of much interest, sometimes, to find that avital characteristics are so well transmitted, that a grandson of the tenth generation can sit for a portrait of a cousin nine times removed.

Whether my donation, or the comments of the Georgian who discovered my resemblance to one of their officers, mollified the unfriendly North Carolinian, I can not say; but he sent an attendant to request me to stop at his cot before leaving. When I approached him he said: "I wish to apologize for the harsh words addressed to you when you entered. They doubtless annoyed, but could not injure you; they did me, for they belied my breeding, and I ask you to ascribe them to the anæsthetics I took before submitting to the cruel operation I had just passed through. Your kind words and generous conduct to my fellow sufferers satisfy me that your heart is right, if according to my views your principles are wrong; and I ask you to forgive me for the words I used and, should you ever think of me again, that you will believe me a true son of the South and a gentleman."

Slocum's division remained encamped on the field it had so brilliantly won, until an early hour of the morning of the 17th, when it marched across Pleasant Valley to the sound of the cannon with which the battle of Antietam was opened.

CHAPTER XVII

THE BATTLE OF ANTIETAM

GENERAL LEE'S purpose "to move his army into Western Maryland, establish communication with Richmond through the Valley of the Shenandoah, and, by threatening Pennsylvania, induce the enemy to follow, and thus draw him from his base of supplies," was frustrated by the continued occupation of Harper's Ferry by Colonel D. S. Miles. The withdrawal of Longstreet's corps from their march to Hagerstown, to oppose the passage of Burnside's command, the First and Ninth Corps, through Turner's Pass, and to strengthen the forces of McLaws in resisting the passage of Franklin's corps through Crampton's Pass, required General Lee to select another position from which to operate instead of Hagerstown, and one affording him the greatest advantage in case he should be forced to give battle. He chose the heights of Sharpsburg, west of Antietam Creek, where his flanks would be protected by the Potomac River. Following the unsuccessful efforts to prevent the Union army from passing through Turner's and Crampton's Passes, as described in the last chapter, he ordered the commanders of the different detachments, including those charged with the capture of Harper's Ferry, to assemble at Sharpsburg by forced marches. Longstreet's corps marched from the battle-field of Turner's Pass, arriving early on the morning of the 15th at Sharpsburg, and took position on the heights east and north of that village. General Jackson (having designated General A. P. Hill to receive the surrender

of Colonel Miles's command), by forced marches arrived at Sharpsburg at sunrise on the 16th, took position two miles or more south of D. H. Hill's division, which was the left of Longstreet's corps, and connecting his own left with General Stuart's cavalry which extended to the Potomac. General McLaws, with his own and R. H. Anderson's divisions, reported to General Lee at sunrise on the morning of the 17th, and was sent to re-enforce the centre and left of the Confederate line.

When the First Corps opened the battle on the morning of the 17th, General Lee had in line of battle, and in reserve, all the troops of the army of Northern Virginia, except A. P. Hill's division, and that joined him at 2.30 P.M., in time to be put into position on the right of his line, and into action to meet the attack of Burnside's corps.

General McClellan's army came upon the field and went into action in the following order: General Hooker's corps, the First, marched, on the 15th, from the battle-field of Turner's Pass and bivouacked near Keedysville. On the afternoon of the 16th, he crossed Antietam Creek, advanced to the front of the enemy's left, and engaged him with his artillery and infantry until dark. His men slept on their arms that night, with General Seymour's brigade picketing the front of the corps. At daylight, on the 17th, Hooker's corps advanced upon the enemy, engaging him with artillery and infantry, and was met with stubborn resistance. The Twelfth Corps, under command of Major-General Mansfield, came on the field at 2 o'clock that morning, encamped in the rear of Hooker's, and was early put into action on the right of the First Corps.

General McClellan in his report, says:

"The line of battle of this corps [the Twelfth] was formed, and became engaged about 7 A.M., the attack being opened by

Knap's Pennsylvania, Cothran's New York, and Hampton's Pittsburgh batteries."

Knap's battery marched and fought with the Sixtieth New York throughout that regiment's term of service. Its brave and efficient commander was the grandson of James Averell of Ogdensburg, one of our first merchants and bankers. We are glad to believe that the company's standing, as one of the best in the service, was in large part due to the sterling qualities inherited by its commander from his maternal ancestors. His father, Thomas L. Knap, was well known as a man of great intelligence and of untiring energy. He was the pioneer in developing the Rossie Lead Mines, and in establishing smelting works. In the early fifties, he moved to Pittsburg and became associated with his brother, Charles Knap, who was one of the early masters of that industry which has made Pittsburg the centre of the greatest steel and iron manufacturing districts in the world. Thomas L. Knap died some years before the war, and when his eldest son, Joseph M. Knap, organized an artillery company, it is worth remembering that his uncle, Charles Knap, tendered the guns and the battery's equipments to the United States Government. For meritorious services and gallant conduct in action while commanding his battery, and as chief of artillery of his division, Captain Joseph M. Knap was promoted major, and given command of a battalion of light batteries.

General Sumner's corps, the Second, marched from Keedysville at 7 o'clock A.M., and went at once into action on the left of the First Corps. These three corps were hotly engaged with the enemy until 10 o'clock, when General W. F. Smith's division of Franklin's corps, the Sixth, arrived on the field from Crampton's Pass battle-field. General Hancock's brigade was sent to support batteries on Sumner's

line, General Brooks's brigade, at the right of General French's line. Colonel Irwin's brigade charged the enemy, near the Dunker Church, and gallantly drove them back into the woods. General Slocum's division of Franklin's corps followed Smith's from Crampton's Pass, and arrived on the field at noon. Colonel Bartlett's brigade was placed in front of the Dunker Church, relieving a portion of Sumner's corps. Newton's and Torbert's brigades had been formed into a column of attack to take possession of the woods near the church, and were waiting for Bartlett's brigade to come from Sumner's front to form the reserve of the attacking column, when General Sumner ordered the attack to be postponed. The enemy, anticipating the proposed movement, filled the woods with infantry and opened on our lines with artillery, to which the Sixth Corps batteries responded and soon silenced their guns.

General Sumner had been actively engaged for five or six hours, had witnessed the fearful losses sustained by the three corps which had fought the same ground over two or three times, and was greatly depressed by what he had seen. General Franklin had just come on the field and formed his opinion of the situation as he saw it, without being influenced by the conditions and operations which had preceded his arrival. It was the opinion of Franklin, as well as that of many officers of the Sixth Corps, that the attack should have been made, and that it would have been successful in closing the operations of our right wing with a complete victory. This was the feeling of the officers and men of the Sixteenth, and at no time in its term of service would the regiment have advanced upon the enemy with more alacrity and confidence of success than at that time.

General Burnside's corps, the Ninth, marched on the morning of the 15th from Turner's Pass by the Sharpsburg road, and took position on the extreme left opposite the

Middle Antietam Bridge. On the morning of the 16th, Burnside placed his batteries on the crest of the hill near the bridge and moved his infantry to their support. On the morning of the 17th, the enemy opened on his line with artillery, and was at once replied to by the batteries of the Ninth Corps, which soon silenced his guns and blew up two of his caissons.

In his report, General McClellan comments severely on the failure of the Ninth Corps to cross Antietam Bridge at 8 o'clock in the morning as he had ordered, and states that it did not move, although he had sent the same order three times, to cross the bridge and carry the opposite heights at all hazards; and that it was not until 1 o'clock, when Colonel Sacket carried the order for the fourth time, and was instructed to remain on the ground to see that the order was executed, that the bridge was carried by a "brilliant charge of the Fifty-first New York and the Fifty-first Pennsylvania." After crossing the bridge, a halt was made until 3 P.M., when the advance was spiritedly resumed and carried to the border of Sharpsburg, where it met Longstreet's main line just before dark, when it was re-enforced by the division of A. P. Hill, and driven back to the bridge.

On the morning of the 17th, General Pleasonton's cavalry division was advanced over Antietam Creek Bridge, on the Sharpsburg turnpike, to support Sumner's line. Sumner's left was more than two miles from Burnside's right, and Pleasonton threw forward skirmishers in advance of Tidball's battery, which was followed by Gibson's, Haines's and Robertson's batteries. They opened an enfilading fire upon the enemy in front of Sumner's left, and in front of the right of Burnside's corps. Pleasonton's batteries fired for two hours, exhausting their ammunition, and when they retired by piece and section to replenish, their places were taken by batteries of Sykes's division of

the Fifth Corps, which sent five battalions of infantry to support the guns. At 7 P.M., General McClellan ordered Pleasonton to withdraw from the line and bivouac at Keedysville for the night.

Major-General Fitz-John Porter was not ordered to leave the defenses of Washington south of the Potomac and report to General McClellan, until late on the night of the 11th. The troops of his corps were widely distributed. General Morell's division, stationed in the fortifications, was the only portion under his immediate command. General Sykes had gone forward and joined McClellan's army. On the 12th, General Humphrey, commanding a division of new troops, was placed under General Porter's orders. The regiments were not properly supplied with tents and camp equipage, and, leaving Humphrey to make proper provision for them, Porter proceeded in advance and reported to General McClellan at South Mountain on the 14th, and resumed command of Sykes's division and the Reserve Artillery with it. On the 15th, Porter marched Sykes's division on the Sharpsburg road, and placed the infantry behind the heights to the left of the road near Antietam Bridge. Porter's artillery arrived during the night and was put into position near his infantry. General Morell's division arrived from the fortifications at Washington, at noon on the 17th, and joined the Fifth Corps. It was McClellan's first intention to hold the Fifth Corps in reserve, but the artillery was directed to open fire on the enemy stationed on the Sharpsburg Heights, and Morell's division crossed Antietam Creek and supported batteries on the right of Richardson's division, and, later, two other brigades from the Fifth Corps were sent to Sumner, but returned by order of General McClellan without having been engaged.

General Humphrey's division arrived on the 18th, and was encamped near Sykes's division. The troops of the

Ninth Corps had been severely engaged from the middle of the afternoon until dark, on our left, and those of the First, Second and Twelfth Corps had fought continuously from early morning, on our right. Franklin's, the Sixth Corps, came on the ground between 10 and 12 o'clock, in time for the infantry of Smith's division and the artillery of the corps to take part in the action. Slocum's division had been placed in order for attack, and held under fire from its arrival. All these, with the exception of the pickets sent out to protect them, rested and slept on their arms on the ground they severally occupied when the artillery of the contending armies ceased firing; and when darkness closed the contest for the day there were, between the lines, lying side by side, a numerous company of the dead and severely wounded, drawn from the ranks of both armies.

Had Burnside crossed the bridge and engaged the enemy's right at 8 o'clock, with the spirit he did at 3 o'clock and while the First, Second and Twelfth Corps were making their splendid contest on the enemy's left, and had Franklin been allowed to attack when he came on the field from his successful battle at Crampton's Pass, it can not be doubted that our army would have won an overwhelming victory. As it turned out, it is but fair to call Antietam a drawn battle, for both armies rested on the field for more than thirty hours without renewing the contest. Our claim that we won a victory rests chiefly on the fact that the Confederates left, abandoning their dead where they fell, and their wounded, both on the field and in temporary hospitals. It is doubtful whether, since the use of improved fire-arms, a battle has been fought where the contestants showed more devotion, valor and fortitude, or suffered greater losses than were exhibited and sustained at Antietam.

Without giving more details of the operations of the several corps than the time and order of their arrival on the

field, the reader's attention is called to the list of casualties appended, which shows the character and quality of the men composing the organizations, as well as the severe tasks they were called upon to perform.

CASUALTIES IN THE UNION ARMY IN THE BATTLE OF ANTIETAM.

	Killed.	*Wounded.*	*Missing.*	*Total.*
First Corps	417	2051	122	2590
Second Corps	883	3859	396	5183
Fifth Corps	17	90	2	109
Sixth Corps	72	334	33	439
Ninth Corps	438	1796	115	2349
Twelfth Corps	275	1386	85	1746
Cavalry Corps	7	23	—	30
	2109	9539	753	12,401

The casualties in the regiments raised wholly or in part in Northern New York were as follows: Sixteenth, 1 killed, 1 mortally wounded, and 1 wounded and recovered, total 3; Eighteenth New York, 4 wounded and recovered; Thirty-fourth New York, 43 killed and mortally wounded, 74 wounded, total 117; Fifty-ninth New York (this regiment was raised in New York City, but its commander in this battle, Lieutenant-Colonel John L. Stetson, had been promoted from the Sixteenth), lost 67 killed and mortally wounded, including Lieutenant-Colonel Stetson, 135 wounded, total 202; Sixtieth New York lost 3 killed, including Colonel Goodrich commanding the brigade, 3 mortally wounded and 16 wounded and recovered, total 22.

Under the first call for three years' troops, William B. Goodrich, a lawyer of Canton, editor and founder of the *St. Lawrence Plaindealer*, raised a company of which he was commissioned captain, September 12th, 1861, and on the organization of the Sixtieth regiment and its muster into the United States service, October 30, 1861, he was appointed

the lieutenant-colonel. On the 13th of May, 1862, he was promoted colonel *vice* Colonel George S. Greene, promoted brigadier-general. Colonel Goodrich commanded the respect of his subordinates and the consideration and confidence of his superiors.

Colonel William B. Hayward, the first colonel of the Sixtieth, was a most incompetent officer, and the regiment under his command went through nearly three months of suffering which seriously impaired its *morale*. Governor Morgan sought to repair the first mistake, and commissioned George S. Greene its second colonel. A brief account of the character and services of this remarkable man may be fittingly given in a volume treating of the men who were members of Northern New York organizations in the Civil War.

George Sears Greene was a graduate of the United States Military Academy, standing second in the class of 1823. He was appointed a brevet second lieutenant in the First Artillery, later second and first lieutenant in the Third Artillery, from which he resigned in 1836, having served with his company, on ordance duty, and as Assistant Professor of Mathematics, and principal Assistant Professor of Engineering in the Military Academy. After resigning, he was chief engineer of railroads in New England and in the Southern States, and superintended their construction until 1852, when he became Engineer of the Croton Waterworks extension and the reservoir in Central Park, New York City. He was appointed colonel of the Sixtieth New York, January 18, 1862, promoted brigadier-general, May 8, 1862, and assigned to the Twelfth Corps under Banks, having under his command the Sixtieth New York to the end of the war.

He commanded a brigade in the battle of Cedar Mountain, August 9, 1862, a division in the battle of Antietam, September 17, 1862, a brigade in the battle of Chancellorsville

in May, 1863, and the Third Brigade of the Second Division of the Twelfth Corps in the battle of Gettysburg, July, 1863. When the First Division and two brigades of the Second Division of the Twelfth Corps were moved from the right of the Union line at Gettysburg, to assist in repelling an attack on the left, General Greene was directed to occupy with his brigade the late line of the corps, and to resist any attempt of the enemy to break through. Greene's brigade, consisting of the Sixtieth, the Seventy-eighth, the One Hundred and Second, the One Hundred and Thirty-seventh, and the One Hundred and Forty-ninth New York regiments, numbering 1350 officers and men, was deployed in one rank at double distances, and held every foot of the line, although several times assaulted by a superior force of the enemy. With exhausted ammunition, he ordered bayonets to be fixed, holding the last charge until the enemy should reach his hastily constructed breastworks. They came so near, that a brave Confederate color-bearer fell close to the line, and his standard dropped into the hands of the unflinching men of Greene's brigade. General Slocum, the Corps commander, in his report, says;

"Greene's brigade, of the Second Division, remained in the intrenchments, and the failure of the enemy to gain entire possession of our works was due entirely to the skill of General Greene and the heroic valor of his troops."

It has been stated by those most competent to judge, that, had the Confederates broken Greene's line, there would have been no necessity for General Lee to have ordered Pickett's charge, and the progress of the Southern arms would not have reached "High-tide at Gettysburg." General Greene's appreciation of the stubborn valor of his troops and his great interest in their welfare and comfort were illustrated by his reply to Commissary-Sergeant Edwin

R. Follett of the Sixtieth, who, in searching the field for the regiment about midnight, two hours after the enemy had abandoned his efforts to break through the line, stumbled on and awakened a sleeping man who sharply ordered him "to his regiment and not go prowling through the camps." Sergeant Follett knew the voice to be that of General Greene, and stated that he was hunting for the Sixtieth, to issue rations. The general pointed to the part of the line where the vigilant sentinels were stationed, slightly in advance of the men, fitfully sleeping on their arms, and said, "there they are, give them the best you have, every man deserves a warm biscuit and a plate of ice-cream." The State of New York in May, 1903, ordered a bronze statue of Brevet Major-General George Sears Greene to be erected on the battle-field of Gettysburg, and it will soon be dedicated on Culp's Hill, made for ever memorable by his skill and by the unsurpassed bravery of the five New York regiments composing his brigade.

With the exception of forty days following a severe wound received at Wauhatchie, General Greene continued with the Twelfth Corps until the end of the war, and remained in the service, on special duty in the War Department, until April 30, 1866, when he was mustered out. The next day, he was appointed Engineer of the Croton Aqueduct Department of New York City, and the following year, Chief-Engineer, and the Commissioner of the Department. While on this duty, he prepared the plans and superintended the construction of the dam on the West Branch of the Croton River, the height and length of which were greater than those of any other on the continent. He closed his active professional career in his eighty-seventh year, and, as one of his last professional acts, he walked through the entire length of the tunnels of the Croton Water-works, a feat that his associates, twenty-five years his junior, were unable to perform.

In his ninety-fourth year, by a bill which I introduced and managed, in the House of Representatives, he was restored to the same rank in the United States Army from which he had resigned fifty-eight years before. He continued in possession of his mental faculties without impairment, and with slight physical weakness, until his death on the 28th of January, 1899; having been born in the first year of the nineteenth century and living to within less than two years of its close. He attained a greater age than any other graduate of the United States Military Academy, or any officer whose name had been borne on the rolls of the United States Army, and was probably the oldest officer of his rank in the world. It has been said, and may be taken as a physiological truth, that the beginning of a sound and vigorous man's life should start three hundred years before his birth; it is of record that General Greene came of an ancestry which, for unnumbered years, had both physical and mental vigor. General Nathaniel Greene was conspicuous for physical and mental vigor throughout the war which brought our country into the family of nations, and he was followed in a later generation by this kinsman who rendered no less conspicuous service in the war that preserved and made us a united nation.

In the list of wounded and recovered in the Sixtieth New York, is the name of Corporal Leffert L. Buck of Company A. A brief notice of the career of this man may properly be given in this connection. In the summer of 1861, he left his class in St. Lawrence University and enlisted in the company organized in Canton by William B. Goodrich. Buck carried a musket as private and non-commissioned officer until June, 1864, when he was promoted first lieutenant, and in the following February, captain. He was mustered out of service at the close of the war, and entered The Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute from which he was

graduated as a civil engineer. He has planned and constructed some of the most important bridges in the world, and stands at the head of his profession in that branch of engineering. The Verrugas Viaduct and other bridges over streams and chasms in the Andes, South America, over the Columbia and other rivers in the States of the Pacific slope, the arch bridges at Niagara Falls, and the Williamsburg suspension Bridge over the East River, are some of the monuments of his professional skill. It is safe to say that no man of Northern New York has accomplished more in applying science to human needs, or won greater distinction in promoting the welfare of the people among whom he has modestly labored, than Captain Leffert L. Buck. His name will be placed among the favored few, who, possessing genius for invention and mechanical skill, are given first rank among the leaders of human progress.

CHAPTER XVIII

ON THE BATTLE FIELD AT NIGHT

THE Sixteenth New York, after the cannonading at Antietam had ceased, was moved from its position and placed on picket. We were on ground over which both armies had advanced and retreated more than once during the day, as shown by a large number of the blue and the gray lying where they had fallen. In the evening twilight the resting soldiers were indistinguishable, for passing comrades had spread blankets over them, under the common impulse which causes us to cover the faces of the dead from the sight of the living. As we advanced to our position, the enemy offered a slight opposition, but ceased firing as soon as he discovered we were a line of pickets and not a line of battle, unless we approached too near in our efforts to bring off the wounded. As the night advanced, the Confederate pickets permitted us to go nearer their lines to carry off those whose call would have softened the most obdurate heart. At midnight my company was relieved, retired a few paces, and slept on their arms. I went to the front, after the company had bivouacked, to bring to the surgeons such men as I could reach. Lieutenant William L. Best and others of the regiment were similarly employed. I first brought to the surgeons a soldier of the Third Delaware, badly wounded in the knee. Twenty years later, while riding on a train on the Pennsylvania Railroad, between Baltimore and Philadelphia, I heard an old soldier tell to a traveling companion the incident of a comrade of

his having been carried from the field at Antietam. He closed the recital by saying that his friend, to the day of his death, which had recently occurred, had failed to find the man to whom he was indebted for his life. He said the beneficiary only knew "that he was a tall captain from New York."

Lieutenant Best brought in a sufferer about the time I delivered the Delawarean, and as we went out again he said to me "Captain, just beyond where I found the one I last brought to the surgeons, is a man who plaintively repeats something that I do not understand, except that he said he was the son of a widow. I will show you where he is." I followed Best's directions, and carried to the surgeon a seriously wounded soldier. When given stimulants, he speedily revived and thanked all for their kindness, saying he had but one regret, "that he could not die under the flag he fought for." The next day, referring to the incident, Best said, "Captain you took great chances last night in bringing off that wounded Confederate. Was he a Mason?" I replied, "I did not ask him but your statement that he was a widow's son caused me to suspect that he was." At all events he was a fellow-countryman, mortally wounded, and lived less than an hour after he was delivered to the surgeons.

Later, and when nearer the enemy's lines than before, I was an interested witness of actions, which have exerted a strong influence in making me more tolerant of the views of those whose faith and practices differ from my own. Born and reared under the rigid rules of New England protestantism, never too tolerant, though growing more so as generations come and go, I did not expect to see kindly attention paid to an outsider by the representative of a sect which I had been taught to believe were for their church first and last, recognizing no other. I saw a man kneeling beside a wounded soldier, whose feeble moans indicated

that he was near the end. "What," said the kneeling man, "can I do for you?" "Nothing I fear, I am dying." The visitor said, "Are you prepared to die, have you faith in Him who alone can save you?" The dying soldier gave an affirmative reply, and named an evangelical church of which he had been a member from his youth. "I hope it is well with you, I am a clergyman and will gladly pray for you." "Please do," whispered the soldier. The clergyman prayed for the man who had given his life for his country.

Later, and still nearer the enemy's lines, I came again upon this clergyman just as he approached a man who was crying in bitterness of spirit that he had sinned away the day of grace, and must now go down to perdition. "No, my friend," said the clergyman, "it is not too late, if you will confess your sins, ask for forgiveness, and put your trust in Him who alone can save you. I am a priest of the Roman Catholic Church and will give you absolution on your fulfilling the requirements of the church." To the one who had tried to follow his Master's teachings he gave approbation and encouragement with a brother's unction. To the one without creed or hope he gave the consolation of the church of which he was a devoted priest. I asked the name of the man who had gone forth on this battle-field in the late watches of the night, regardless of imminent danger, to minister to those passing beyond human aid, and was told he was Francis McAtee, chaplain of the Thirty-first New York. From that night he held a warm place in my heart, and will again be referred to in later chapters.

It was now 2 o'clock in the morning; the enemy disputed our nearer approach to his lines to assist the suffering. The fatigue of the march of twelve miles from our camp, the movements on the field under artillery fire and the two hours spent in searching for the wounded, all imperatively suggested the need of rest and sleep. I rejoined my company,

and, as I had brought no blanket upon the field, thought I would share that of one of my men, and quietly backed under the side of the blanket of a sleeping soldier and presently went to sleep. Awakening at daylight and finding it time to call my company, I spoke to my host, and, getting no response, put my hand on his shoulder to arouse him. As he remained motionless I turned back the blanket, and saw a dead Confederate. I had enjoyed three or four hours of refreshing sleep, made comfortable by the warm blanket that covered us, but the chill I got from looking on my quiet bedfellow was greater, I believe, than I would have taken had I slept that cold night with nothing over me but the stars.

The morning of the 18th found both armies in the positions they had held respectively the night before, and there they remained without changing position throughout the day. At daylight on the 19th, our pickets advanced and found that the enemy had retired during the night. General Pleasonton's cavalry immediately started in pursuit, followed by the Fifth Corps and found, on reaching the Potomac, that Lee's army had crossed into Virginia and that his artillery was posted on the right bank to defend the fords. Porter advanced skirmishers and sharpshooters to the banks of the river and of the canal, and with the aid of his reserve artillery soon drove the enemy's cannoneers from their guns and silenced his infantry fire. General Griffin, with an attacking party of volunteers from the Fourth Michigan, the One Hundred and Eighteenth Pennsylvania, the Eighteenth and the Twenty-second Massachusetts, crossed the river and scaled the heights. The result of the day's operations was the capture of five pieces of artillery with some equipments, four hundred stand of arms, and a battle-flag. At 7 A.M. on the 20th, Porter sent Morell's and Sykes's divisions across the Potomac and pushed them forward

until 8 A.M., when, meeting the enemy in large force, our troops retired, recrossed the river and took position under the shelter of the canal.

The forenoon of September 19th the Sixteenth spent in searching the field for the dead and wounded belonging to other Northern New York regiments. All had been brought off by the men of their own organizations, except the body of Lieutenant Colonel John L. Stetson, Fifty-ninth New York. Major Franklin Palmer with members of Stetson's old Company E, Sixteenth, searched the field and found his body near the most advanced position reached that day by our troops. His regiment was in Sedgwick's division of the Second Corps, and, when flanked on both sides, was ordered to retire by General Sumner. In falling back, Colonel Stetson was doing his best to preserve the alignment of his regiment and gave his last order, "Rally on your colors," when he received the fatal shot. As the regiment was sharply pressed he was left where he fell. I quote from a letter of Major Palmer, written from the field:

"I found the body lying in the centre of the woods surrounded by the dead of his regiment, showing the fearful struggle which took place at that point and how bravely the men fought before falling back before vastly superior numbers. He lay on a rocky ridge, two of the largest and noblest trees standing on either side of him,—God's sentinels for God's dead. His features were as placid as in sleep. He was not killed instantly, and may have lived an hour or more after being hit. A slip of paper pinned to his shirt, marked "Colonel Stetson, New York," must have been placed there by one of the enemy at his request. His conduct in the face of the deadly fire which broke and drove back the line was brave and noble in the extreme."

On the afternoon of the 19th, Slocum's division marched to the Potomac and guarded the bank opposite Shepherds-

town until midnight of the 20th, when it made a forced march to Williamsport. Here it remained until the 23rd, when it moved to Bakersville, near which it camped until it joined in the general advance into Virginia.

CHAPTER XIX

THE ARMY AT BAKERSVILLE

THIS chapter will be introduced by extracts from letters of Lieutenant Walling, of the sixteenth. He writes September 29, 1862:

"We are now encamped, one and one-half miles from Bakersville, by the side of a clear brook on which, a little distance below us, is a grist mill from which our messes obtain flour. This is the richest and most beautiful section of Maryland. The valleys are well cultivated and the soil is very rich, as indicated by the many stacks of hay and grain which the large barns cannot hold. Here apples, pears, peaches, plums and quinces are grown in abundance. More than this, one discovers in his wanderings a devotion to the old flag which is heartfelt, and the soldier feels he is among friends. He finds it easy to add to his army ration of bacon, hard-tack and coffee, a boiled potato, a little apple sauce, a pat of butter, and genuine milk for his tin cup of coffee, and these comforts cause him to feel renewed confidence in his surroundings, and greater hope in the final success of his labors. It is no wonder that General Lee and his army longed for the sight of the well filled granaries, and sighed for the rich fruitage of Maryland and Pennsylvania, after the dreary marches and counter marches in battle-scarred Virginia. He came to liberate Maryland from the despotism of the Lincoln government. What must have been his chagrin when none of the inhabitants rushed to his standard! McClellan pursued him so closely that he could not forage, and finally whipped and drove him back to the 'sacred soil of old Virginia.' Lee's greatest

achievement was the capture of Harper's Ferry from an irresolute commander, with its garrison of eleven thousand men and large quantities of ordnance, quartermaster and commissary stores. The haversacks of his dead, which we found on the battle-field of Antietam, were filled with provisions captured at Harper's Ferry. But all these captures went only a short way in compensating him for his losses at South Mountain, Crampton's Pass and Antietam.

"Some of our army look for orders to move, others say we will go into winter-quarters, but that does not seem probable; yet the old army is so depleted that it is in no condition to battle successfully against the enemy at this time. It would be vain to expect to win battles with new troops. In the late engagements the enemy fought desperately."

He writes again on October 4th:

"I see you are impatient and feel as many do in the North that McClellan should move on the rebels. I think the army will move when our noble general gets ready, and you will admit that it will be plenty soon enough. There are many new troops in the field and others are joining us daily. Quartermaster stores are scarce, shoes and clothing are needed, and until they are furnished we will be in no condition to move.

"These cold nights our boys really suffer. One just told me that there are five men in his tent and all the covering they have is one blanket. Our blankets were stored in Alexandria when we came from the Peninsula. The weather is so cold I have worn my overcoat all day. There are but three tents to a regiment, which are occupied by the field and staff, and one tent fly for the officers of each company."

An extract from a letter written by Corporal Cyrus R. Stone, Company F, now a prominent civil engineer in Minnesota, to his uncle, Counsellor B. H. Vary, gives the enlisted man's side of the situation:

"Since we came into Maryland we have had little opportunity to obtain paper or time to write letters. Our knapsacks were left in Alexandria and we have no way of carrying writing materials or even a change of underclothing. Many times our men have gone to the banks of streams, where each would wash his only shirt, then stand with coat buttoned up to watch it dry. Often it has been necessary to put shirts and socks on wet, when the word would come, 'hurry up boys, put your things on wet or dry, we have orders to march.' Thus we have lived since we left Harrison's Landing, only twice remaining two successive nights in the same camp until we reached this one. I have twenty-five cents of my last pay left, and that will be expended for stationery and stamps as soon as the sutler comes up."

On the first day of October, President Lincoln was escorted by General McClellan and staff through the different army corps. No attempt was made to give him a formal review, as his call was accepted as a visit, not an inspection; the soldiers were in no condition to pass in review and he recognized the fact. He saw the men who had come from the Peninsula and had been sent forward in great haste to General Pope; some had reached him in time to join in the great battles fought by his army, and others had only reached Centreville in time to act as a rear guard to his disorganized forces. These were the men who had entered upon the pursuit of Lee's army, driven it from Maryland, and in doing so had suffered great loss in numbers, but no loss in spirit and devotion to the cause in which they had enlisted.

The most important event which occurred, while the regiment was encamped near Bakersville, was the resignation of Colonel Joseph Howland, tendered on account of disabilities from wounds received in the battle of Gaines's Mill. This announcement was received with profound regret by the officers and men of the Sixteenth, as well as by the commanders

of the brigade, division, corps and army, in which he had served and won the confidence and approbation of all by his meritorious conduct and conspicuous bravery in action.

General Howland, for he attained the rank of brigadier-general before the close of hostilities, came to the regiment a perfect stranger to every member; even the Colonel who invited him to accept the adjutancy did not know him. Colonel Davies tendered him that position on his staff at the suggestion of his brother, Professor Charles Davies, the mathematician, who, after retiring from the Military Academy at West Point, resided at Fishkill Landing, where he came to know the spirit and fibre of his neighbor, Joseph Howland. Colonel Howland won his way to the hearts and to the consideration of superiors and subordinates by the force of his natural qualities. Approachable, considerate of the rights of others, he permitted no infringement of his own. Quick to decide and prompt to execute, he held the regiment under a taut rein, and it never stumbled nor balked. Faithful to the discharge of every duty, he exacted prompt compliance from others. Conscious of the advantages to be derived from a strict observance of military etiquette, a dignified bearing, and an erect soldierly carriage, he cultivated by practice and precept those habits which promoted self respect and an *esprit de corps* among his men, tending materially to increase their efficiency. Young himself, and fully recognizing the aggressive and irresistible power inherent in youth, he roused it and led his men forward to accomplishments which the conservatism of middle age would not willingly have undertaken. These natural qualities, supplemented by the graces of a cultured Christian gentleman, made him an ideal soldier and an able commander.

In leaving the regiment he did not relinquish interest in its operations or welfare. Long after his resignation, he continued to pay a bounty of twenty dollars to each recruit

who joined it, in addition to all local, State and Federal bounties, in order that its ranks might be kept full and that it might maintain to the final muster-out the high reputation it had gained under his command. I found in the records and papers relating to the regiment, which Mrs. Howland placed at my disposal while collecting material for this volume, many evidences of his continued interest in the welfare of the members of the Sixteenth who applied to him after the war, and to no meritorious case did he turn a deaf ear.

General Howland died at Mentone, France, April 1, 1886, never having regained the strength lost by the wound received in the battle of Gaines's Mill, June 27, 1862. On the afternoon of Easter Sunday, the 25th of the same month, memorial services were held in the Tioronda Sunday-school, on his own grounds, of which he was the superintendent. The Reverend George L. Prentiss, D.D., of New York, the general's intimate friend and colaborer in church work for thirty years, delivered the Memorial Address. I reproduce two of the testimonials read, first, one from New York's greatest soldier, Major General H. W. Slocum, on whose staff he had held an important and confidential position, and one from General J. J. Seaver, a field officer of the Sixteenth, who succeeded Colonel Howland in command.

"No one of General Howland's comrades knew him more intimately than I did, and no one had reason to appreciate more keenly the value of his services. When I first met him he was Adjutant of the Sixteenth New York Volunteers. It was a position in which he was exceedingly usful, but a brief acquaintance with him convinced me that he would be still more useful in a higher sphere. I persuaded him to accept the position of Adjutant-General and Chief of Staff of the brigade then under my command. He served in this capacity during the darkest days of the war—the days spent in creating armies. The terrible battles and great victories came at a later period; but it was while General

Howland served with me in the Army of the Potomac that that army was created, drilled, and disciplined for the great work before it. In this important work no man in his sphere did more valuable service than General Howland. Had I been accorded the privilege of selecting from the officers of the regular army one skilled in his profession as a soldier, I do not believe I could have selected one who could have filled his position as well as did General Howland.

"He was the possessor of an ample fortune and a happy home, and was impelled by a spirit of patriotism to leave all and endure the pains and privations of army life. He appreciated the troubles and hardships of the men who had left their homes for a place in the ranks of the private soldier, and he sympathized with them, but he realized the importance of thorough discipline, and was one of the best disciplinarians in the army.

"He continued as my chief of staff until a vacancy in the colonelcy of the Sixteenth New York was created by the promotion of General Davies. Then, at the unanimous demand of the officers and soldiers of his old regiment, he felt it to be his duty to return to it.

"General Howland's career as Colonel of the Sixteenth New York Volunteers, and the splendid record of that regiment, are matters of history known to all. The profound respect of the officers and soldiers of that regiment for General Howland, and their deep affection for him, are known only to these men themselves, and to those closely associated with them."

"Captain Howland received his commission as Colonel of the Sixteenth Regiment in March or April, 1862, just as the army was preparing for its 'on to Richmond' movement. This appointment was hailed by the whole regiment—officers and men alike—with a heartiness born only of admiration and respect for a thoroughly good soldier and a noble man. Colonel Howland immediately applied himself to the duties of his position. The comfort and welfare of the men of his command were his first and constant care. Order and discipline were rigidly enforced, and

prompt obedience to all requirements was but a natural outgrowth which sprang from the love an intelligent soldiery bore to an urbane and dignified chief. No officer in the service ever devoted himself more unremittingly to the interests of his men than did Colonel Howland to the old Sixteenth. Possessed of abundant means, he provided for the regiment many luxuries and comforts which the government did not supply, for both camp and hospital, while his wife and her sister devoted themselves with untiring zeal to the care of the sick and the wants of those who were well, following, like ministering angels, the regiment and its fortunes wherever it marched and fought.

"Colonel Howland commanded the regiment in the desperate battle of Gaines's Mill on the 27th of June, 1862, when on the extreme right of our line it charged the enemy, recapturing a battery which had been lost earlier in the day, and retained its position until the exhaustion of its ammunition and the final onset of 'Stonewall' Jackson forced it to retire as the sun was going down. Early in this engagement the lamented Lieutenant-Colonel Marsh was mortally wounded and borne from the field. At about the same time Colonel Howland received a severe wound, but continued to direct the movements of the regiment until it left the field. In this engagement, besides its colonel and lieutenant-colonel, the regiment lost in killed and wounded 260 men, rank and file—fully one-quarter of its effective force on that day. No battle-scarred veteran ever bore himself with higher valor or inspired his command with more heroic bravery than did Colonel Howland on this occasion. Brave, without rashness, he was at his post where danger was thickest. With an intrepidity that seemed to defy death, he led his men on the field and remained with them so long as there was hope. . . .

"In physique Colonel Howland was not strong, and was thereby unfitted for the life of a soldier. His early education and training, received under the care of the best masters, had, however, strengthened his constitution, and developed a mind of unusual clearness and of great power. His executive ability was of a high order, and in the administration of affairs he had few equals. He possessed a high sense of honor and a clear and quick conception

of right and wrong. In the right he was inflexible. No art, device, or subterfuge could so gloss the wrong that it would evade his keen detection and stern rebuke. This trait in his character was prominent, and no one could approach him without feeling that he was in the presence of a noble man."

In a resolution on the death of General Howland, adopted by the surviving members of the regiment at its first reunion, held at Potsdam, N. Y., Sept. 1, 1886, they express the profound respect and affection with which they cherish his memory. They also tender their heart-felt sympathy to Mrs. Howland, with the assurance that "her sorrow can only be greater than theirs, who knew and loved him so well."

On October 6th, the Sixteenth and the other regiments of Bartlett's brigade were greatly pleased to receive the announcement that President Lincoln had finally acted upon the repeated recommendation of Colonel Joseph J. Bartlett's superior officers, and had promoted him to be a brigadier-general. General Bartlett had recruited a company on the proclamation of Governor Morgan, calling for volunteers to fill New York's quota under the first call of the President, and on the organization of the Twenty-seventh New York regiment was chosen major. On the promotion of Colonel Henry W. Slocum, Bartlett succeeded him in the command of the Twenty-seventh New York, and, on Slocum's advancement to the command of the First Division of the Sixth Corps at West Point, Virginia, Bartlett followed Slocum in command of the Second Brigade. In all the battles in which the Sixth Corps participated in the Peninsula campaign, the advance to Centreville to join Pope's army, the Maryland campaign, the battle of Crampton's Pass, where he was conspicuous for coolness and personal bravery, and in the later operations of the brigade connected with the expulsion of Lee's army from Maryland, he won the

respect and warm regard of his brigade, and the high consideration of his superiors. His promotion was felt to be a recognition of his personal worth, and of the services of the men he had led into and through so many hot engagements.

On the evening of the 9th of October, the commissioned officers of the Sixteenth present with the regiment, with the exception of Lieutenant-Colonel Seaver and Major Palmer, met to take steps, in accordance with the practice initiated by Colonel Davies, to elect a colonel to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Colonel Howland. Captain N. M. Curtis was chosen chairman, and Acting Second Lieutenant D. A. Nevin, secretary; Adjutant R. P. Wilson and Captain I. T. Merry were appointed a committee to invite Lieutenant-Colonel J. J. Seaver and Major Franklin Palmer to attend. This invitation was declined, with the request that the acting lieutenants be permitted to vote.

The meeting consisted of the following named officers: Surgeon W. B. Crandall and Adjutant R. P. Wilson; Captains G. Parker, J. C. Gilmore, N. M. Curtis, W. W. Wood, P. L. Van Ness, Pliny Moore, and I. T. Merry; Lieutenants A. M. Barney, C. H. Bentley, H. T. Sanford, W. L. Best, C. M. Hilliker, W. H. Walling; and Acting Lieutenants D. A. Nevin, A. Dodge, A. C. Bayne, S. M. Gleason and W. H. Jamison. Two informal ballots were taken. On the first, Major Palmer received seven and Captain Gilmore eleven votes, two blanks; on the second, Major Palmer received six and Captain Gilmore thirteen, one blank; on the third and formal ballot, Major Palmer received three and Captain Gilmore fifteen, two blanks; Captain Gilmore was then declared unanimously elected. The proceedings were approved by General J. J. Bartlett, commanding brigade, and General H. W. Slocum, commanding division, and were forwarded to Governor Edwin D. Morgan. The officers

patiently awaited developments, and about the 4th of December anxiety and suspense were ended by the receipt, at regimental headquarters, of a commission for Joel J. Seaver as colonel, whereupon Colonel Seaver nominated Major Franklin Palmer for lieutenant-colonel and Captain John C. Gilmore for major.

The meeting of October 9th, one of the notable events in the history of the regiment, was held at the suggestion of General Bartlett. His decision was brought to the officers by Adjutant R. P. Wilson, Acting Assistant Adjutant-General on his staff. In view of the high commendation he had given Major Seaver for his conduct in commanding the regiment after Colonel Howland was disabled by wounds and Lieutenant-Colonel Marsh mortally wounded, it was generally expected that he would advise the promotion of Lieutenant-Colonel Seaver, but he declined to recommend any one not endorsed by the officers, and the meeting was held with the result stated.

This ended all efforts in the Sixteenth to select officers by the votes of those over whom they were to exercise command. The Act of April 16, 1861, provided; "that the governor shall prescribe such rules and regulations as he may deem proper, to carry out the provisions of section two, article eleven, of the state constitution," which provided that, "Militia officers shall be chosen as follows: Captains, subalterns and non-commissioned officers shall be chosen by the written votes of the members of their respective companies; Field officers of regiments and separate battalions by the written votes of the commissioned officers of the respective regiments, and separate battalions." While the regiment was in Albany these provisions of the law, under which the first thirty-eight regiments were organized, were strictly complied with, and, after it arrived at Washington, the Adjutant-General of the State requested Colonel

Davies to forward to his office a certified return of the election of Captain Tapley, *vice* Pomeroy resigned, before he would issue Tapley's commission. The second clause of section two, Act of April 16, 1861, provided, "when any vacancy shall occur among such volunteers while they are absent from the state, the governor is hereby authorized and empowered to appoint and commission the requisite officers to fill vacancies," and, in time, the governor commissioned officers in regiments in the field without requiring certified returns of their election.

Having referred to the law authorizing the steps taken by the officers, I will quote extracts from letters of Colonel Seaver to Colonel Howland. On September 20th, he writes:

"I want to see you again at the helm of your regiment, not that the labor is too much for, or at all distasteful to me, but that I know you will do so much better and keep the men in better spirits. I hope you will not indulge in any expectation of having your resignation accepted. You will be able to come back when the flesh comes to your bones again, the strength to your frame, and when the sun has gone a little further to the south, so that the north winds can come down with you. Until then I shall hold everything in abeyance, and if you do not return, I shall be strongly tempted to seek the quiet of domestic life myself. . . .

"Should we be compelled to submit to any further promotions above the rank of captain, I hope Captain Gilmore will not be overlooked. He is really the most deserving man in the regiment, now that you are not here."

October 10th he writes again:

"The election rampage of Camp Franklin has broken out again among the officers of the regiment, and scenes of last winter have been re-enacted in part. Twelve officers and eight sergeants, recommended for promotion, held an election for colonel, and

after several ballots very wisely declared Captain Gilmore their unanimous choice. I expect Generals Bartlett and Slocum will endorse this choice and recommend the appointment of Captain Gilmore. I regret somewhat that the offense of their *first* election of a major is not to be pardoned. But while I might feel complimented by a further promotion, however much I may distrust my own abilities, I can only rejoice that the choice has fallen upon a good man, who I trust will be able to retain the confidence of a too capricious few, who must bewail their own fortune in the absence of any hope of preferment." . . .

Colonel Seaver's estimate of Gilmore's qualifications was that of the officers taking part in the election, and the excellent record made by Gilmore, during the more than forty years that he has now served in the volunteers and in the regular army of the United States, has furnished ample proof of his capacity and fitness. He was transferred by promotion from the line to the general staff,—has held important positions requiring expert knowledge and rare tact, and on reaching the age limit was placed on the retired list with the rank of a brigadier-general.

The meeting at Camp Franklin in November, 1861, to which Lieutenant-Colonel Seaver refers, was held under the express orders of Colonel Davies, and, had no further action been taken by the colonel than the mere calling of the meeting and announcing its object, it was thought that Captain Franklin Palmer would have been selected, but Colonel Davies stated to the officers that he desired them to name Captain Seaver. What has remained a mystery is the reason why the meeting was called at all, and why the colonel should have directed other officers to be voted for when he openly stated his choice. His wishes were complied with, and might have been made known to the Governor of the State without an election in which he virtually instructed

the electors. It was well known that Captain Seaver had a friend, the Honorable William A. Wheeler, whose influence with the Washington authorities was especially desired at that time by Colonel Davies. Mr. Wheeler exerted a powerful influence in the councils of Governor Morgan, and when on his way to Washington to take his seat in Congress, he called on the governor and caused the commission of Colonel Joel J. Seaver to be promptly forwarded. It was not difficult for him to satisfy the governor that one who had successfully commanded the regiment for over four months, and in several important engagements, in a manner to secure the commendation of his superiors, was certainly qualified to continue in command until mustered out. It may be said in this connection that the influence of men prominent in civil life was often prejudicial to military efficiency; but it is safe to say that, had all those who held positions through such influence been as competent as Colonel Seaver, the army would have been better officered than it was.

The application of the foregoing provisions of the Constitution relating to militia organizations, to the officering of troops engaged in actual military operations, was most vicious. Its observance tended to demoralize every command in which it was practised. The essence of a soldier's oath of enlistment, is, "to obey the lawful orders of the officers appointed over him," and nothing could be more absurd than to authorize him to have a voice in their selection. An army cannot be organized on the plans and principles of a representative civil government. Nor can an army be a deliberative body, and every effort to retain the slightest vestige of the right of representation violates the autocratic principle which must prevail in a properly organized army. This opinion is based on a large experience in a wide field of action, and will be endorsed, I doubt not, by every thoughtful man who has seen service in the field,

J. J. Sawyer

from the intelligent private behind the gun to the general-in-chief, through the wisdom of whose judgment victories are won, or, lacking wisdom, defeats are sustained.

Chaplain Millar had been absent on sick leave from the arrival of the regiment at Harrison's Landing, and no religious services had been held except those conducted by Chaplain Adams of the Fifth Maine, who had visited our sick, buried our dead and preached once or twice. After establishing our camp at Bakersville, I requested Lieutenant-Colonel Seaver to invite Father McAtee, chaplain of the Thirty-first New York, to preach to the regiment. This he was at first disinclined to do, but, when I told him of the priest's labors on the battle-field of Antietam, he relented so far as to permit me to invite him in his name, but stipulated that I should superintend the services, as he would not be there. The invitation was extended on behalf of the colonel, and the priest came one Sunday afternoon when the sun was pouring down the heat of a mid-summer day. He had recently suffered from a partial sun-stroke, and asked as he walked from his quarters whether the services were to be held in a tent or under a tree. I informed him that we had no tent, and as for "God's first temples" the woodsmen had long before destroyed all within the lines of our camp. Then he said, "I fear I shall be prostrated if I attempt to stand in this fierce sunlight." I recalled the fact that I had seen a civilian visitor in our camp carrying an umbrella, and I assured him I could furnish a canopy but not an altar, and, having obtained the visitor's umbrella, I stood behind the priest throughout the service, and sheltered him from the sun's rays. He led the singing of selections from our army hymn book and gave us a most excellent sermon.

We had in the regiment one of those impressionable men who found his greatest delight in attending what he called "preaching by a spiritually-minded man, powerful in prayer

and earnest in exhortation," and who was withal such a great bigot that he thought the members of his church were of the elect, and all others doomed to perdition. Meeting this man on my way to bring the priest, I said to him, "we are to have a sermon this afternoon by a new minister, and I wish you would pay particular attention and report to me after the service if you regard him as suitable for an army chaplain." My man, who daily called down blessings upon "the true believers and none others," was there, and sat in rapt attention throughout the service. Later he came to me and said, "Captain, that minister you held the umbrella over to-day is one of the elect. He is filled with the grace of God. If we could get him to stay with us, I am sure he would bring every sinner to repentance." I asked my enthusiastic believer in the "few chosen" if he could tell to what church or religious society his favorite preacher belonged. "Methodist of course, that's plain to any one." His surprise was great when told that the man, whose sermon had appealed to him so strongly, belonged to the church which he thought contained no good. He confessed his belief in a personal devil who took upon himself all forms, won through deceit, was filling his kingdom with a vast multitude who would not see the right way and accept the true faith, taught only in the church to which be belonged. His mind was so well settled on the question of the existence of the arch-fiend, that he might have been taken for a lineal descendant of that antiquarian of the sixteenth century, who chided a party of young men for applying opprobrious epithets to the prince of darkness, and said, "Young gentlemen, you ought to speak more respectfully of the fourth person of the 'Trinity.'"

October 14th was a sad day in the Sixteenth. I quote from a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Seaver to Colonel Howland, dated October 22nd:

"By General Orders No. 162, Army of the Potomac, 229 names were dropped from our rolls, including the poor fellows who were wounded at Gaines's Mill, and all the victims of the Peninsula diseases, and all absentees, except those wounded at Crampton's Pass and Antietam and the detailed and detached men. Such was the written interpretation of the order at brigade headquarters. To-day twenty of these returned; I have drawn rations for them and made application to have them restored to the rolls, which I doubt not will be granted."

A proper construction of General Orders No. 162 would have required the dropping of less than two per cent. of those actually dropped under the construction given from headquarters of the brigade. Of the 229 names sent forward to army headquarters some were dead from wounds, others discharged on account of wounds and disabilities incurred in the service, whose names the surgeons in charge of general hospitals had failed to report to the captains of companies. It is worth remembering that of the entire number dropped on the 14th of October, every man, not dead or discharged by authority, rejoined the regiment, except four, and two of those died soon after they returned home. The injustice of the order as construed will be illustrated by a single case, and many others might be given. J. Harvey Winslow went out as second corporal of Company D, was promoted sergeant, and in the battle of Gaines's Mill carried the United States colors and, when prostrated by wounds, held the colors aloft until seized by another. His gallantry was recognized by recommendation for promotion to a lieutenancy, but his wounds prevented his early return, and while convalescing he was informed that he was dropped from the rolls of his company and could return home. He spurned the suggestion and, as soon as able to leave the hospital, rejoined his company, having lost his

non-commissioned officer's warrant from no fault except his not being immune to the enemy's bullets. He carried a gun in the ranks until the final muster out of the regiment. No promotion could add lustre to the bravery and fidelity to duty of Sergeant Winslow. He deserved a substantial recognition for his valor, but lost it through disabilities incurred in performing a most honorable duty, that of carrying his country's flag in battle.

On October 16th, the regimental mail brought to me a commission as lieutenant-colonel, One Hundred and Forty-second New York, which I immediately carried to General Slocum, and announced to him my intention of declining the appointment. I found him shaking hands with officers of the division, who had called to bid him good-bye on the occasion of his leaving to assume command of the Twelfth Corps. When I got the opportunity to state the object of my call he said, "No, you must not do that; I started the movement to secure you a regiment; and my friend, who took an interest in the matter at my request, failed to secure favorable action on your selection by the senatorial committee, and you must take what is offered. I have signed the order announcing my transfer from the division but will, before leaving, sign your pass to go to Washington to accept promotion. We will leave the Sixth Corps the same day, and I hope to have you and your regiment under my command."

The officers and men felt the keenest regret on the occasion of General Slocum's leaving them, though rejoicing in his advancement. He entered the war as colonel of the Twenty-seventh New York, and rose by steady steps to the command of an army, and on Sherman's march to the sea commanded the left wing of his consolidated armies. Few equalled, and no other surpassed, him in the successful performance of the duties of the various positions to which he was assigned.

We had no picket duty while encamped near Bakersville; light guards were mounted daily and drills were resumed. The army began moving on October 25th, and at Berlin crossed the Potomac into Virginia. The Sixteenth left its camp with the Sixth Corps at 6 o'clock A.M., October 31st, and encamped near the battle-field of Crampton's Pass, giving an opportunity to visit our wounded comrades in the hospital at Burkettsville, which many improved. On the 3rd of November, the regiment crossed the Potomac and marched up the Loudoun Valley. I give an extract from Lieutenant Walling's letter of November 6th:

"You would like to know our whereabouts. We are near White Plains on the Manassas Gap Railroad, fifteen miles west of Manassas Junction, having marched seven days since we left our Maryland camp. The weather has been fine and the roads could not be better. Last night was the coldest of the season, and ice covers the surface of still waters. No soldiers were frozen, but many good rails were used to keep us warm. Every time the army moves the desolation of Virginia is increased. The beautiful valley between the Blue Ridge and Bull Run Mountains looks now as though the wolf, should the war continue, will possess it for a home, without the fear of man. Farmers residing within twenty miles of the Potomac have sown fall wheat, but those west of this section have hardly turned a furrow or sown a kernel. Acres of arable land have grown up to weeds, meadows have not been mowed, and seldom do we see horses, cattle, sheep, pigs or poultry. Captain Parker, acting commissary, was directed to procure beef for General Smith's division of our corps. He found a pair of oxen the owner of which offered him $300 not to take them away, but he received a receipt for his oxen, which will be paid for by the government on proof of loyalty.

"The soldiers are feeling well, never more hopeful and buoyant than at present. We do not know where or when we will meet the enemy, but believe our generals do, and we know the

army was never in a more vigorous condition to give battle than now. Since entering on this campaign we have not seen a rebel, the cavalry having pursued them far in advance of our infantry column. It is 6 P.M. and the first snow of the winter is falling."

The regiment remained in this camp for two days, snow falling most of the time, and on the 9th marched to New Baltimore. On the 10th, General McClellan, relieved from the command of the Army of the Potomac, and accompanied by General Burnside, his successor, rode through the camps of the several army corps, receiving the most enthusiastic proofs from the rank and file of their warm regard for and confidence in the ability of their organizer and first commander.

CHAPTER XX

THE BATTLE OF FREDERICKSBURG

WHEN General McClellan relinquished command of the Army of the Potomac, its several corps were located as follows:—

The First, Second and Fifth Corps, Reserve Artillery, and general headquarters were at Warrenton; the Sixth Corps, at New Baltimore; the Ninth Corps, with Stoneman's and Whipple's division of the Third Corps, on the Rappahannock near Waterloo; the Eleventh Corps, at New Baltimore, Gainesville, and Thoroughfare Gap; Sickles's division of the Third Corps on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, from Manassas Junction to Warrenton Junction; Pleasonton's cavalry, south of the Rappahannock at Amissville and Jefferson, with pickets at Hazel River, facing Longstreet's corps; Bayard's cavalry, near Rappahannock Station, and the Twelfth Corps, at Harper's Ferry.

Of the condition of the Army of the Potomac, and the location of the Confederate army on the 9th of November, General McClellan makes this statement:

"I doubt whether, during the whole period that I had the honor to command the Army of the Potomac, it was in such excellent condition to fight a great battle. When I gave up the command to General Burnside, the best information in our possession indicated that Longstreet was immediately in our front near Culpeper; Jackson, with one, perhaps both, of the Hills, near Chester and Thornton's Gap, with the mass of their forces west of the Blue Ridge."

General McClellan had crossed into Virginia from his Maryland campaign under instructions of October 13th, from the President, requiring him to march near enough to the Blue Ridge to observe its passes, and to engage Lee in battle, should opportunity offer while pursuing him towards Richmond. General Burnside, on assuming command of the army, proposed to abandon the pursuit of Lee, and to move on the north side of the Rappahannock to Falmouth, and establish his base of supplies at Aquia Creek.

As General Halleck refused to approve of Burnside's plan to change his base, Burnside then proposed to cross the fords of the Upper Rappahannock and march down and seize the heights south of Fredericksburg. General Halleck returned to Washington and submitted the proposed plan to the President, to which he assented, without approving it. On receiving authority to adopt this last plan, Burnside proceeded to reorganize the army instead of advancing against the enemy. He formed three Grand Divisions; the Right, under the command of General Sumner, consisted of the Second Corps under General Couch, and the Ninth Corps under General Willcox; the Centre Grand Division, under General Hooker, consisted of the Third Corps under General Stoneman, and the Fifth Corps under General Butterfield; the Left Grand Division, under General Franklin, consisted of the First Corps under General Reynolds, and the Sixth Corps under General W. F. Smith.

On the 15th, Sumner's Grand Division marched, not across the Rappahannock to occupy the heights south of Fredericksburg, but on the north side of the Rappahannock to Falmouth. On the next day, Hooker's and Franklin's Grand Divisions followed Sumner, and, on the 20th, Burnside had his army where he had first proposed to move it, notwithstanding the fact that the general-in-chief had disapproved

the movement, and that the President had assented to quite a different plan.

The itinerary of the Sixteenth New York will show some of the hardships endured by the Army of the Potomac on this memorable march. The regiment left its camp at New Baltimore early on the 16th, and, marching to Catlett's Station, bivouacked for the night near the place where it had camped three days in April, when the ground was covered with snow and the apple trees were in blossom. The next morning it resumed its march, and at 11 o'clock P.M. of the 18th, arrived, in a drizzling rain, at Stafford Court House. During the two weeks that the regiment remained at this place, it furnished fatigue parties to repair the road to Aquia Creek, our new base of supplies, and those not serving on these details were employed in building fireplaces in the tents, and making the camp as comfortable as possible. Here Thanksgiving Day was spent, and not a few additions were made to our army rations. On December 4th, at daylight, the regiment marched eight miles to White Oak Church. While the tents were being raised Chaplain Francis B. Hall reported at headquarters. It is certain that he never, in his long pastorate, took charge of a congregation less presentable, or in more dismal surroundings, than the one he found that night, but he proved equal to all emergencies.

No member of Bartlett's brigade will ever forget the 5th of December and its hard experiences, which tested patience and physical endurance to the extremest tension. The regiments were ordered out in a severe rain storm which soon changed to snow with a biting wind, with instructions to find a new camp. After marching some distance a suitable site was selected, and the men began putting up tents, when orders were given "to move on," and on they marched four miles to Belle Plain, a barren and dreary spot exposed to the

winds from all quarters, without a single tree to shelter or furnish fuel. A facetious soldier said, with chattering teeth, "Belle Plain, is it called? The first and last letter of the descriptive word should be dropped, then a cockney would pronounce it correctly." The regiment was very soon moved into a wood, the tents were put up and the men made themselves quite comfortable, although the cold was so intense that ice formed thick enough to bear a man. In this camp the regiment remained, doing fatigue and picket duty, until called out to march to the Rappahannock on the 10th, to begin the operations against Fredericksburg.

Before daylight on the 11th of December, the Left Grand Division marched to the Rappahannock and waited for the pontoon bridges to be laid, one and one-half miles below Fredericksburg. Two were completed at 11 A.M., and orders were received at 4 P.M. to cross to the south side; but these orders were soon modified, directing only one brigade to remain on the south side to guard the bridge heads, and all other troops were returned to the north bank. At daylight on the morning of the 12th, Franklin's Grand Division began crossing in the face of a body of sharp shooters occupying infantry-trenches near the bank of the river; these were promptly captured or driven away, and at 1 P.M. all of the Left Division was on the south side. The First Corps, with its left resting on the river, extended south, joining the Sixth Corps which extended westward to the eastern limits of Fredericksburg. The laying of the pontoon bridges on the 11th opposite to Fredericksburg, for the crossing of the Right Grand Division, was sharply contested, and the town was bombarded for an hour without clearing the way; the Seventh Michigan, and the Nineteenth and the Twentieth Massachusetts regiments then crossed in pontoon boats to the south side, under a sharp fire, and drove the enemy's sharp shooters out of their defenses. They landed opposite

the place selected for the upper bridge, and the Eighty-ninth New York opposite that for the lower bridge; at sunset both bridges were completed, and General Howard's division of the Second Corps crossed and occupied Fredericksburg the night of December 11th, and at sunrise was joined by French's and Hancock's divisions of the same corps. The Ninth Corps crossed after the Second Corps, and took position on the right of the Sixth Corps; the Second Corps holding the right of the Union line. During the night of the 12th, General Burnside visited the different commanders and discussed future movements; the plan of attack suggested while on this visit was modified by the orders sent out on the morning of the 13th. General Hooker was instructed to place Butterfield's Corps, and Whipple's division of Stoneman's Corps, near the upper bridges, so as to support Sumner on the right, and to send Sickles' and Birney's divisions to the lower bridges to support the left under Franklin.

General Burnside's orders for the attack, issued in the early morning of the 13th, were not construed by the several commanders in the way he intended, as is indicated in his report. They were at least thought to be conflicting, and were regarded by General Franklin and his corps commanders as requiring him to test the enemy; "You will send out at once a division at least, taking care to keep it well supported and its line of retreat open"; he was not ordered to attack in force. Under this construction, Meade's division of the First Corps was sent forward and gained ground beyond the Confederate line, but met there a heavy force which drove him back, together with his supporters, Doubleday's and Gibbon's divisions of the First Corps. The divisions of Birney and Sickles of the Third Corps were sent to the aid of the advanced line when pressed on retiring. This movement was a failure and the loss was very great in Meade's division. What would have been the result had the attack

been ordered in force it is of course impossible to determine, but probably it might have been attended with some success.

Following the operations on the left, General Sumner was directed "to attack with a division, supported closely by a second, the direction of the attack to be indicated by the Plank and Telegraph roads, and its object the possession of the heights immediately in rear of the town." General French's division led the movement, followed by Hancock's in supporting distance, and subsequently by Howard's division. In the repeated attempts to carry the heights the divisions of Sturgis, Getty, and Burns were sent forward to aid the attacking column, but the heights were not taken. At this time, General Hooker, with such of his Grand Division as had not been sent to the support of the right and the left, was ordered to cross the river and attack the position which the other troops had failed to capture. General Hooker, recalling the information given that morning by a prisoner to Generals Burnside, Sumner and himself, "that it was perfectly impossible for any troops to carry the position, and that a second line commanded the first," sent a staff officer to General Burnside to advise him not to attack. When the aid returned bringing the reply "that the attack must be made," General Hooker went to Burnside and personally explained the situation, seeking to dissuade him from making a hopeless attack. The attack was insisted upon, but although made "with a spirit and determination seldom, if ever, equalled in war," the effect was unavailing. The troops held the positions they occupied on the evening of the 13th until the night of the 15th, when the army returned to the camps on the north of the Rappahannock, having lost 1,284 killed, 9,600 wounded, and 1,769 missing, a total of 12,653.

On arriving at Falmouth, General Sumner had applied for

permission to cross to the south side and take possession of the heights at Fredericksburg, but the request was denied. On the 19th of November, General Hooker, from his camp at Hartwood, suggested to Burnside the advantage of crossing the Rappahannock at fords four miles from his camp and marching to Saxton's Junction, where he could maintain himself and be supplied from Washington by way of Port Royal; this application was disapproved. On the 30th of November, General John Gibbon submitted a plan of winter campaign to General Burnside, which called for a transfer of the army to the vicinity of City Point on the James River, the capture of Petersburg, and a movement on the south side of the James to capture Richmond; this plan was also disapproved. After the disastrous movement against Fredericksburg, General Franklin and General W. F. Smith addressed a letter to the President, suggesting a campaign by way of the James River, but neither of these suggestions was favorably regarded. They required the returning of the army to the vicinity of the place from which it had been withdrawn in August, 1862, upon the advice of General Halleck. The opinions of the general-in-chief were not to be overcome, until General Grant determined to operate on the line proposed by McClellan, Gibbon, Franklin, and W. F. Smith. General M. C. Meigs, Quartermaster, on the 30th day of December, wrote a personal letter to Burnside, calling his attention to the situation: "Every day's consumption of your army is an immense destruction of the natural and monetary resources of the country. The country begins to feel the effect of this exhaustion, and I begin to apprehend a catastrophe." The movement of January 20th, called "The Mud March," may have been undertaken on the suggestion made by General Meigs.

General Burnside disregarded the advice of his superiors

as to the plan of campaign, and the judgment of his able subordinates as to operations on the field. There is no evidence that his officers withheld their loyal support, or that they failed to construe the conflicting orders given them, according to the accepted meaning of the language in which they were written or verbally delivered. General Burnside states, in his report of the operations of the army while under his command, the condition of the army and his efforts:

"The army had not been paid for several months, which caused great dissatisfaction among the soldiers and their friends at home and increased the number of desertions to a fearful extent, and, in short, there was much gloom and despondency throughout the entire command. When to this is added the fact that there was a lack of confidence on the part of many officers in my ability to handle the army, it does not seem so strange that success did not attend my efforts. I made four distinct attempts, between November 9, 1862, and January 25, 1863. The first failed for want of pontoons; the second was the battle of Fredericksburg; the third was stopped by the President; and the fourth was defeated by the elements and other causes. After the last attempt to move I was, on January 25, 1863, relieved of the command of the Army of the Potomac."

In addition to the reasons above named by General Burnside, there were other conditions and circumstances beyond his control, which are best explained in his own words, in his testimony before the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War[1]:

"I did not want the command; it had been offered to me twice before and I did not feel that I could take it, or that I was competent to command such a large army as this. I had said the same over and over again to the President and the Secretary of

[1] Vol. I, page 650.

War; and also that if things could be satisfactorily arranged with General McClellan, I thought he could command the Army of the Potomac better than any other general in it."

General Burnside's order assuming command of the Army of the Potomac indicated the feelings expressed in his testimony above quoted, and his command at once concluded that he was unequal to the duties he had reluctantly assumed. Men seldom attain honors when they doubt their ability to win them. The qualities essential to an army commander are, first, capacity, and, secondly, that self-confidence whose superlative is faith; these assure success, but one wanting either, however worthy in all other respects, is sure to fail in the performance of duties beyond his capacity. General Burnside declined all offers of command, but, when ordered to assume it, he loyally and zealously did the best he could, and his failure should be charged to his superiors and not to his subordinates.

CHAPTER XXI

HOOKER IN COMMAND

GENERAL BURNSIDE was put in command of the Army of the Potomac by President Lincoln, with the approval of the Secretary of War and of the General-in-chief, and from the official records it is clear that all concurred in the order relieving him of the command. The appointment of General Hooker was the sole act of the President without the concurrence of Secretary Stanton or of General Halleck. The President's letter to General Hooker, will be a fitting introduction to the chapters which will treat of the reorganization of the army, his administrative reforms, his plans for engaging the enemy, and his generalship in fighting an aggressive battle which developed into his acting on the defensive:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
"WASHINGTON, D.C., January 26, 1863.

"MAJOR-GENERAL HOOKER,

"*General:*—I have placed you at the head of the Army of the Potomac. Of course, I have done this upon what appear to me to be sufficient reasons, and yet I think it best for you to know that there are some things in regard to which I am not quite satisfied with you. I believe you to be a brave and skilful soldier, which, of course, I like. I also believe that you do not mix politics with your profession, in which you are right. You have confidence in yourself, which is a valuable, if not an indispensable, quality. You are ambitious, which, within reasonable bounds, does good rather than harm; but I think that during General Burnside's command of the army you have taken counsel of your ambition

and thwarted him as much as you could, in which you did a great wrong to the country and to a most meritorious and honorable brother officer. I have heard, in such a way as to believe it, of your recently saying that both the Army and the Government needed a dictator. Of course, it was not for this, but in spite of it, that I have given you the command. Only those generals who gain successes can set up dictators. What I now ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship. The Government will support you to the utmost of its ability, which is neither more nor less than it has done and will do for all commanders. I much fear that the spirit which you have aided to infuse into the army, of criticising their commander and withholding confidence from him, will now turn upon you. I shall assist you as far as I can to put it down. Neither you nor Napoleon, if he were alive again, could get any good out of an army while such a spirit prevails in it. And now, beware of rashness. Beware of rashness, but with energy and sleepless vigilance go forward and give us victory.

"Yours very truly,

"A. LINCOLN."

General Hooker's order assuming command of the Army of the Potomac expressed his appreciation of the responsibility of the trust, of the army's great achievements, and a desire for the co-operation of all in securing success. One clause he may have thought, at a latter day, to have been slightly overdrawn: "In equipment, intelligence, and valor the enemy is our inferior; let us never hesitate to give him battle wherever we can."

The consolidated report of this army for January 31, 1863, shows that there were present for duty equipped, 145,818 infantry, 14,072 cavalry, and 17,888 artillery, a total of 177,778. This number included 21,155 under General Heintzelman, commanding the Defenses of Washington. On the 15th day of February, he reported to the War Department that

"a total of 85,123 officers and men were absent from this command when first placed in my charge." General Hooker prescribed rules for granting leaves of absence and furloughs, limiting the time of absence to ten days to residents of nearby States, and to fifteen days to residents of Eastern and Western States, and limiting also the number to be granted in each organization of the army. Later, he increased the number allowed to go on leave from organizations favorably reported by inspecting officers. General William F. Smith was tranferred from the command of the Sixth Corps to the Ninth Corps, which was at the same time embarked for Fortress Monroe; and General John Sedgwick was placed in command of the Sixth Corps. On the 5th of February, he ordered a reorganization of his army as follows:

"The division of this army into grand divisions, impeding rather than facilitating the dispatch of current business, and the character of the service it is liable to be called upon to perform being adverse to the movement and operations of heavy columns, it is discontinued, and the corps organization is adopted in its stead.

"They will be commanded as follows:

"First Corps, Major-General John F. Reynolds.

"Second Corps, Major-General D. N. Couch.

"Third Corps, Brigadier-General D. E. Sickles.

"Fifth Corps, Major-General George G. Meade.

"Sixth Corps, Major-General John Sedgwick.

"Eleventh Corps, Major-General Franz Siegel.

"Twelfth Corps, Major-General H. W. Slocum.

"Hereafter the corps will be considered as a unit for the organization of the artillery, and no transfers of batteries will be made from one corps or division to others except for the purpose of equalization, and then only under the authority of the chief of artillery.

"The cavalry of the army will be consolidated into one corps, under the command of Brigadier-General George Stoneman, who will make the necessary assignments for detached duty."

In addition to the reorganization of the infantry, the cavalry and the artillery arms, General Hooker gave an intelligent supervision to every branch and department of his army, and established important and salutary reforms. The management of the Commissary Department removed all occasions for complaint as to quality or issue of rations. He caused the admirable system of caring for the wounded established by Surgeon Charles O'Leary, Medical Director of the Sixth Corps, (at the request of Dr. Letterman, Medical Director,) which had first been put into operation at the battle of Crampton's Pass, September 14, 1862, to be extended throughout the army. The details of this system were explained in chapter XVI. General Kearny, when on the Chickahominy, had ordered his men to sew pieces of red flannel on their caps, that he might recognize them in battle, and this idea General Hooker, on the suggestion of his chief of staff, developed into a system of distinctive badges for each corps, and division. He sought by inspections, reviews, and commendatory orders to cultivate in the soldiers of the army a spirit of emulation, of self-appreciation, of self-confidence, which qualities are the most effective in promoting efficiency; and it was attained to such a degree, that he declared his was "the finest army on the planet." He selected an efficient staff, and to its chief, General Daniel Butterfield, a man of large experience in business affairs before entering the army, he was much indebted for the high administrative methods for which his term as commander was noted.

He owed his appointment to President Lincoln, and to him only did he confide his plans and purposes as to military operations. General Halleck, General-in-chief, took early occasion to commend the order dispensing with the grand divisions, and the consolidation of the cavalry into an independent corps, but the official records contain no communication

to him, or to the Secretary of War, except such as related to administrative affairs, which the regulations required should be sent to the War Department. General Hooker's visits to Washington were for the purpose of consulting with the President as to the movements of his army, and if, while there, he called upon the Secretary of War or on the General-in-chief, the call was purely one of courtesy, or to transact business of an administrative character.

On April 5th, President Lincoln visited the army, and on the 7th, reviewed the Second, the Third, the Fifth and the Sixth Corps, and on the 8th, the First, the Eleventh, the Twelfth, and the Cavalry Corps. He returned to Washington on the 10th, and on the next day General Hooker sent to him his plan for the campaign which the President's visit was intended to have begun.

The chief provisions of the plan are reproduced as follows:

"I have concluded that I will have more chance of inflicting a heavier blow upon the enemy by turning his position to my right, to sever his connections with Richmond with my dragoon force and light batteries, which will cross the river above Rappahannock Bridge, go to Culpeper and Gordonsville, cross to Aquia Railroad. While the cavalry are moving I shall threaten the passage of the river at various points, and, after they have passed well to the enemy's rear, shall endeavor to effect the crossing."

The President returned his approval and, on the 12th, General Hooker directed General Stoneman, commanding the cavalry corps, to march on the morning of the 13th, with all his available force, except one brigade,

"for the purpose of turning the enemy's position on the left, and throwing your command between him and Richmond, isolating him from his supplies, checking his retreat, and inflicting on him every possible injury which will tend to his discomfort and defeat.

To destroy a small provost-guard of the enemy at Gordonsville, to push forward to the Aquia and Richmond Railroad and destroy the railroad bridges, trains, cars, depots of provisions, and lines of telegraphic communication. If the enemy should retire by Culpeper and Gordonsville, you will endeavor to hold your forces in his front, and harass him day and night on the march and in camp unceasingly. If you cannot cut off from his column large slices, then you will not fail to take small ones. Let your watchword be 'fight,' and let your orders be 'fight, fight, fight,' bearing in mind that time is as valuable as the rebel carcasses. You may rely upon the general being in connection with you before your supplies are exhausted. Bear in mind that celerity, audacity, and resolution are everything in war."

The Circular Orders to corps commanders will recall, to the survivors of our Civil War, the articles regarded as essential to the comfort and efficiency of a soldier when marching forth to battle, as well as acquaint the inexperienced civilian with the outfit of a soldier at the beginning of a campaign. It is easier to enumerate than it was to carry them: musket; belts; cap-box; cartridge-box; ammunition, forty to sixty rounds; knapsack with blanket, extra shirt, socks, and drawers; haversack, with knife, fork, spoon, tin-plate; rations for three to eight days, each ration weighing three pounds; a canteen with water; tooth, hair and shoe brushes, (with blacking for latter,) not counting pipe and tobacco, (ninety per cent. of the soldiers used tobacco). All these things would weigh from thirty to forty per cent. of the weight of the boy or man who carried them. It was seldom they had good roads; oftener they marched where there were no roads, across fields, through forests and swamps, over fences and hills, fording streams, frequently traveling more miles on the day of a battle and going into action as *fresh troops*, than they would march in changing camp. Strange as it may seem, I never knew a soldier,

coming to the end of an all day's march, who would patiently undertake to answer the frequent inquiry of those vociferous patriots at home,—("who never could endure the sight of a rebel in arms,")—"Why don't the army move?"

The heavy rains which fell after the issuance of these orders made the roads impassable and the streams unfordable. President Lincoln requested General Hooker to meet him and General Halleck at Aquia Creek on Sunday morning, the 19th of April for consultation. Before leaving, the President said to Generals Hooker and Couch: "I want to impress it upon you two gentlemen; in your next fight put in all of your men."[1]

It has been said the President left this conference with grave doubts as to the success of the campaign; these doubts were largely due to the absolute confidence expressed by General Hooker in the wisdom of his plans, and the positive assurance that he would certainly destroy or capture Lee's army. The President remembered that the brave promises of General Pope, on assuming command of the Army of Virginia, were not followed by effective actions, and he repeated to General Halleck the declaration of the old farmer, that "the hen is the wisest of all of the animal creation because she never cackles until the egg is laid."

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[1] General Couch's "The Chancellorsville Campaign," in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War.*

CHAPTER XXII

THE BATTLE OF CHANCELLORSVILLE

THE rations, forage and ammunition, which the commanders were directed by Circular Orders of April 13th to have in readiness, were drawn and kept on hand, but not until the 26th and 27th were orders issued naming the day and giving the details of the general movement. Under these, General Stoneman, with General Gregg's division and General Buford's reserve brigade of cavalry, crossed the Rappahannock above Kelly's Ford on the 29th, and proceeded south to cut the enemy's lines of communication and to inflict all the injuries possible under his instructions of the 12th of April. The Fifth Corps under Meade, the Eleventh Corps under Howard, and the Twelfth Corps under Slocum were marched "as near to Kelly's Ford as practicable without discovering themselves to the enemy," on the afternoon of the 28th, and, during the night and the next morning, crossed the Rappahannock. General Pleasonton, having reported to General Slocum at Kelly's Ford, with his brigade of cavalry, was ordered to send a regiment to each corps commander. The Fifth Corps, preceded by the Eighth Pennsylvania cavalry, crossed the Rapidan at Ely's Ford, and marched to Chancellorsville, the leading division arriving at 11 A.M., the second at 1 P.M.; and the third, because of fatigue, halted two miles from Chancellorsville and arrived at 7 o'clock the next morning. The Eleventh Corps, preceded by the Seventeenth Pennsylvania cavalry, and the Twelfth Corps, preceded by the Sixth New

York cavalry, crossed the Rapidan at Germanna Ford before daylight on the morning of the 30th of April, and the leading divisions arrived at Chancellorsville at 2 o'clock P.M. General Slocum's orders of April 28th read:

"When the Fifth Corps is crossed, you push on with both your corps, the Eleventh and the Twelfth, to Chancellorsville, at which point the three corps will come together, which you will command by virtue of your seniority....

"If your cavalry is well advanced from Chancellorsville, you will be able to ascertain whether or not the enemy is detaching forces from behind Fredericksburg to resist your advance. If not in any considerable force, the general desires that you will endeavor to advance at all hazards, securing a position on the Plank road and uncovering Banks's Ford. If the enemy should be greatly reinforced, you will then select a strong position, and compel him to attack you on your ground. You will have nearly forty thousand men, which is more than he can spare to send against you. The general desires that not a moment be lost until our troops are at or near Chancellorsville. From that moment all will be ours."

It has been stated by some who have searched for reasons to account for General Hooker's failure at Chancellorsville that it was in part due to General Slocum's failure to carry out the provisions of the orders above quoted, directing him "to secure a position on the Plank road and uncover Banks' Ford." The official records show that General Slocum executed the provisions of every order given to him. On the 30th of April, 2.15 P.M., General Butterfield, General Hooker's Chief of Staff, sent a dispatch to Captain Comstock, Corps of Engineers, in charge of the bridge-train, who was with the advancing columns, and copies to Generals Couch and Meade, as follows:

"The General directs that no advance be made from Chan-

cellorsville until the columns are concentrated. He expects to be at Chancellorsville to-night."

General Slocum had been in command of the Eleventh Corps and of his own, the Twelfth Corps, on the march from the Rappahannock, and, of the Fifth, from 2 P.M., until the arrival of General Hooker about two hours later; but he could not advance from Chancellorsville, for the foregoing order of April 30th forbade such a movement until the three corps were concentrated, which did not take place until 7 A.M. on the first day of May, sixteen hours after the arrival of General Hooker. General Pleasonton, in his article entitled "The Successes and Failures of Chancellorsville" published in "*Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, says:

"At 2 o'clock P.M., April 30th, I reported to General Hooker at Chancellorsville, that we had evidently surprised General Lee by our rapid movements across the river, and, as Lee had prepared for a battle at Chancellorsville, we had better anticipate him by moving toward Fredericksburg. A march of three or four miles would take us out of the woods into an open country where we could form our line of battle, and where our artillery could be used to advantage; we could then be prepared to move on Fredericksburg in the morning; besides, such a movement would enable us to uncover Banks's Ford, which would shorten our communication with General Sedgwick over five miles, and bring us within three and one-half miles of Falmouth by that Ford.

"I was much surprised to find General Hooker, who up to that time had been all vigor, energy, and activity, received the suggestion as a matter of secondary importance, and that he considered the next morning sufficiently early to move on Fredericksburg. Up to that time General Hooker's strategy had been all that could be desired. He had outflanked the enemy and surprised him by the rapidity of his movements. At 2 o'clock

P.M., on the 30th of April, General Hooker had ninety chances in favor to ten against him." . . . .

No movements were ordered until 11 o'clock on the morning of May 1st, when General Hooker directed the Fifth Corps to advance on the river roads to uncover Banks's Ford, and the Twelfth Corps to advance until the right was near Tabernacle Church, and the Eleventh Corps to follow the Twelfth Corps. The Second Corps, and the Third Corps, the latter coming on the ground, to be stationed near Chancellorsville. In the execution of this order two divisions of the Fifth Corps, marching near the river, came within sight of Banks's Ford without meeting the enemy. Sykes's division, marching on a road south of the one taken by Griffin's and Humphrey's divisions, met the enemy, and General Hooker sent Couch with Hancock's division to reinforce Sykes.

Soon after Hancock's division was put into position to cooperate with that of Sykes, Hooker sent an order to Couch "to withdraw both divisions to Chancellorsville." Generals Couch, Hancock, Sykes and Warren all agreed that the ground should not be abandoned, because of the open country in front and the commanding position. General Couch sent Major Burt to General Hooker to state his views and those of the officers named. Major Burt soon returned from General Hooker with positive orders "to return to Chancellorsville." General Warren also returned to Hooker and urged that the advance be continued, but without avail. General Slocum was making satisfactory progress and, in sight of his designated position, was driving the enemy and had suffered a loss of but two killed and eight wounded, when he was ordered to return to Chancellorsville.

General Slocum was so strongly impressed with the necessity of holding the position already gained, that he

suspended action under the order until the commanding general could be advised of its importance, and he sent Lieutenant-Colonel E. W. Guindon of his staff to General Hooker to express his views, and to request that the order to withdraw be recalled. Lieutenant-Colonel Guindon went as directed, and after explaining the situation, and communicating the views and wishes of General Slocum, was ordered to return to General Slocum with instructions "to retire to his former line."

The position abandoned was high open ground over which an army might use infantry and artillery advantageously, but, left in the hands of the enemy, he could establish his batteries on its crests and command the position at Chancellorsville, which was low ground, heavily timbered and without clear fields large enough properly to manœuvre a division with its batteries. The importance of holding Banks's Ford, which would materially shorten the line between his right and left wings, as well as with his base at Falmouth, was not given a thought. That it was not done on account of any developments on the south side of the Rappahannock, where all the enemy's forces were located, is certain, as shown by Hooker's dispatch to his Chief of Staff, as follows:

"CHANCELLORSVILLE, VIRGINIA,
"MAY 1, 1863.

"After having ordered an attack at 2 o'clock, and most of the troops in position, I suspended the attack on receipt of news from the other side of the river. Hope the enemy will be emboldened to attack me. I did feel certain of success. If his communications are cut, he must attack me. I have a strong position.

"JOSEPH HOOKER,
"*Major-General.*"

General Hooker's troops, called back from the advance toward Fredericksburg, at once proceeded to construct

rifle-pits and abatis. The enemy advanced skirmishers along this line in the evening, but they were soon driven off, and our troops continued to strengthen their line through Friday night and Saturday morning.

On Saturday morning, the 2nd of May, the enemy opened on the left of the Union line with artillery, but without much effect, except upon the trains in rear of the Chancellor House, and he made several feints of attack along the line from left to right of Sickles's position, seemingly for the purpose of locating our line and learning its strength. Both Generals Slocum and Sickles sent out a small force on a reconnaissance toward the front and to the left, driving the enemy's skirmishers back until his main line was discovered. A number of prisoners were captured, and a partial knowledge of the enemy's dispositions gained.

After returning from the reconnaissance, General Sickles, through a staff officer, reported to the commanding General that

"A continuous column—infantry, artillery, trains, and ambulances—was observed for three hours moving apparently in southerly direction toward Orange Court House, on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, or Louisa Court-House on the Virginia Central,"

and asked permission to attack it. When authorized to make the attack he invited the co-operation of Generals Slocum and Howard, and with troops from his own corps, Williams's division of the Twelfth Corps, and Barlow's brigade of the Eleventh Corps, he made a spirited attack, captured prisoners, and was about to send Pleasonton's cavalry to increase the force, when

"it was reported to him that the Eleventh Corps had yielded the right flank of the army to the enemy, who was advancing rapidly, and, indeed, was already in his rear."

This advance of the enemy to General Sickles's rear cut him off from the main line, but, with great promptness and vigor, he turned his forces toward the right of Jackson's column, drove it back and regained connection with his reserves. General Sickles gives much credit to General Pleasonton, who had reported to him with his cavalry to engage in pursuing the Confederate column, and, on the change from attacking the fleeing enemy to fighting those seizing his rear, he placed General Pleasonton in charge of the artillery which played a most important part in the severe contest for the possession of his old line, which was regained before dark. Among the batteries engaged, Osborn's, under the command of Lieutenant Winslow, did most effective work. Captain Osborn was now chief of the artillery of the Second Division, Third Corps. At midnight, General Sickles again attacked the right of Jackson's troops, drove it back, recovered guns and caissons left when our line was broken, and brought in a number of Confederate prisoners.

The advance of General Jackson, across the front of Hooker's army, to attack the rear of his right flank was a most difficult and hazardous undertaking, and would have been disastrous had it been energetically and forcefully met. When General Lee ordered it carried out he directed the troops of Generals McLaws' and Anderson's divisions to hold the left and front of the Union line, by skirmishers operating in front of his rifle-pits. General McLaws says in his report:

"My orders were to hold my position; not to engage seriously, but to press strongly so soon as it was discovered that General Jackson had attacked. It was not until late in the evening that it was known General Jackson had commenced his assault, when I ordered an advance along the whole line to engage with the skirmishers which were largely reinforced."

The conduct of the Eleventh Corps was severely criticised. The principal officers vigorously defended its action, and repeatedly asked that their official reports should be published, or that a court of inquiry should be ordered, "so that the true facts may come to light and the responsibility for the disaster be fairly apportioned." These requests were disapproved by General Hooker and General Halleck. The laborious investigations made by Lieutenant-Colonel Augustus C. Hamlin, Medical Inspector, published under the title of *"The Battle of Chancellorsville,"* will correct many misconceived notions about this battle and the part taken in it by the Eleventh Corps, and should be read in connection with the official reports.

Saturday morning, May 2nd, General Reynolds, with the First Corps, which had been under the orders of General Sedgwick, marched from Pollock's Mill Creek to Chancellorsville, where he reported to General Hooker in the evening, and before daylight on Sunday, the 3rd of May, placed two of his divisions in position, and the third before sunrise. The arrival of the First Corps increased the right wing of General Hooker's army to more than eighty thousand men.

At daybreak on Sunday, May 3rd, the enemy opened the battle with a furious attack on the lines held by the Second, the Third, and the Twelfth Corps. The effort of the enemy to break these lines was without success, but after three hours of sharp fighting the ammunition ran low and General Hooker, standing on the porch of the Chancellor House closely watching the battle, was informed that a supply of ammunition should be furnished or the troops on the front line relieved. No troops were brought from the reserve, but a brigade from the Third Corps was sent to support a portion of the line of the Twelfth Corps, heavily pressed; it arrived too late, and the line began falling back. The line once broken enabled the enemy to advance, and he poured such a

destructive fire on the artillery that it retired, after the loss of two battery commanders and a number of men and horses in Slocum's Corps, to the second line of defence. Many regiments of the Third and of the Twelfth Corps held their ground with the bayonet after every cartridge had been expended, and troops of Sickles's Corps charged the enemy's line and brought off prisoners, in which movement their only reliance was the bayonet. On this charge, a fierce hand-to-hand struggle was carried on over the colors of the Third Excelsior regiment, "but every rebel who touched them was either shot or bayoneted." It was apparent that the enemy exhibited exhaustion, for on his advance there was no sign of energy, except on the part of his artillery.

This was a favorable moment for General Hooker to have ordered forward one or more of the three corps which had awaited orders all the morning to be put into action. While Hooker was standing on the porch of the Chancellor House, apparently unconscious of the impending repulse of his battle line, a pillar near which he was standing was struck by one of the enemy's shots and the fragments knocked him down and seriously injured him. He was helped off the porch and to mount, then rode to the rear and sent for General Couch, the next ranking officer, and ordered him to withdraw the army to a new position, with its right flank on the Rapidan, its left on the Rappahannock and its centre opposite the United States Ford. The officers at the front were reluctant to abandon their positions, and General Sickles sent a staff officer[1] to the reserve to ask for assistance, fully believing that a fresh army corps would turn the tide of battle and gain a victory. This view was generally entertained, but General Meade, to whom the appeal was directly made, refused to advance without orders from the

[1] General Henry E. Tremain.

commanding general or his representative, General Couch. Hooker would not give them, and Couch had orders to withdraw the army under specific instructions from Hooker. The army was withdrawn before noon and went to work throwing up breastworks and strengthening its position. The enemy did not molest them, except by an occasional cannon shot, for reasons which are best explained by General Lee:

"The enemy had withdrawn to a strong position nearer to the Rappahannock, which had been previously fortified. His superiority of numbers, the unfavorable nature of the ground, which was densely wooded, and the condition of our troops after the arduous and sanguinary conflict in which they had been engaged, rendered great caution necessary. Our preparations were just completed when further operations were arrested by intelligence received from Fredericksburg."

After Hooker had retired to the third position he telegraphed to the President,

"We have had a desperate fight yesterday and today, having lost a portion of two lines. We will endeavor to do our best. My troops are in good spirits. No general ever commanded a more devoted army."

At midnight of the 4th–5th of May, General Hooker called his corps commanders in council, which all attended, except General Slocum, who did not arrive, on account of the long distance of his command from headquarters, until the meeting had dissolved. Generals Meade, Reynolds and Howard advised an advance against the enemy; Generals Couch and Sickles were opposed to advancing. General Slocum stated that he should have advised an advance had he arrived in time to vote. General Hooker, after the council adjourned, announced his purpose of crossing the river, and directed the commanders to cut roads from their several positions

to the United States Ford. During the night of the 5th and the early morning of the 6th of May, the First, two divisions of the Second, the Third, the Fifth, the Eleventh and the Twelfth Corps, and Pleasonton's cavalry crossed the Rappahannock and marched to their old camps.

Before the President was informed of General Hooker's purpose to abandon the campaign and recross the Rappahannock, he sent him two dispatches indicating his desire that Hooker should hold on, but gave no orders. General Hooker replied on returning to Falmouth:

"I saw no way of giving the enemy a general battle with prospect of success which I desired. Not to exceed three corps, all told, of my troops have been engaged. For the whole to go in, there is a better place near at hand. Will write you at length tonight."

Casualties in the Battle of Chancellorsville, May 1st to 3rd.

	Killed	*Wounded*	*Missing*	*Total*
General Headquarters	—	1	—	1
First Corps	9	80	46	135
Second Corps	141	954	720	1,815
Third Corps	378	2,645	1,096	4,119
Fifth Corps	69	472	159	700
Eleventh Corps	217	1,221	974	2,412
Twelfth Corps	260	1,441	1,121	2,822
Cavalry	8	35	98	141
	1,082	6,849	4,214	12,145

Casualties in Northern New York Organizations

Sixtieth lost 8 killed, 8 mortally wounded, 38 wounded, total 54. Osborn's Light Battery D, First New York, 2 killed, 12 wounded, total 14. Captain T. W. Osborn was chief of artillery of the division and Lieutenant George B. Winslow in command of the battery. Both were highly

commended for the excellent conduct of their commands in action. Captain Riley Johnson's company K, Sixth New York Cavalry, 2 men wounded. This company was from the beginning of the Peninsula campaign, in 1862, on escort duty at Second Corps headquarters. Their employment in that capacity was evidence of their intelligence and fine soldierly bearing.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE BATTLES OF MARYE'S HEIGHTS AND SALEM CHURCH

GENERAL HOOKER'S operations on the left were primarily conducted to conceal his purpose of making the main attack from Chancellorsville, and before daylight on the 29th of April he caused the First Corps under Reynolds, the Third Corps under Sickles, and the Sixth Corps under Sedgwick, to be assembled on the north bank of the Rappahannock, three miles below Fredericksburg, all under the command of General John Sedgwick. At daybreak on the 29th, General Brooks's division of the Sixth Corps crossed the river in pontoon boats, at Franklin's old crossing, and took position in a dense fog close to the enemy's picket line. At 10 A.M., General Wadsworth's division of the First Corps began crossing a mile below and, when the division was all over, General Brooks extended the left of his line to connect with General Wadsworth's right. These divisions held the ground in front of the pontoon bridges under the enemy's fire of artillery and infantry, but no serious engagement took place. The troops of the three corps occupied their positions without change until 1 P.M. on the 30th of April, when General Sickles marched to join General Hooker at Chancellorsville. The First and the Sixth Corps remained in the same position until 6 P.M. on the first day of May, when the four divisions still on the north side of the river were put under arms by an order of General Hooker, which

had been five hours in reaching General Sedgwick, "to threaten an attack in full force at 1 o'clock and to continue in that attitude until further orders. Let the demonstration be as severe as can be, but not an attack;" the demonstration ceased at dark.

At 7 A.M. on the 2nd of May, General Reynolds withdrew Wadsworth's division from the south side, marched his corps to United States Ford, and thence to Chancellorsville. On the departure of the First Corps, General Sedgwick ordered the divisions of Newton and Howe to cross the river, and at sundown the Sixth Corps was united. General Sedgwick received an order at 11 P.M.,

> "to at once march on the Chancellorsville road and connect with the major-general commanding; to attack and destroy any force you may fall in with on the road; leave all trains behind except the pack-mule train of small ammunition, and be in the vicinity of the general at daylight."

Without delay he proceeded to carry out the order, advanced on the Bowling Green Road, and, skirmishing with the enemy all the way, reached Fredericksburg at 3 A.M., carrying the intrenchments with the bayonet.

General Gibbon's division of the Second Corps was brought across the Rappahannock and put into position on the right of the Sixth Corps in its advance against Marye's Heights. Two storming columns and a line of battle were formed of troops of Newton's division, and, advancing at a double-quick without firing or halting, drove the enemy from his first line of works, pressed forward to the crest of Marye's Heights and carried the works in rear of the rifle-pits, capturing guns and prisoners. General Howe at the same time advanced on the left, gained the crest in his front and captured prisoners and guns. Thus Sedgwick's corps gained possession of the heights which had repulsed the

right wing of Burnside's army on the 13th of December. Gibbon's division was sent in pursuit of the enemy retiring south of Fredericksburg, with orders to hold the town. The Sixth Corps at once proceeded on the Chancellorsville road to comply with the orders of the commanding general, and carried each series of heights without halting until in the vicinity of Salem Church, where the enemy, having been reinforced by a brigade brought from Banks's Ford, made a most stubborn resistance. General Brooks's division on the left, and General Newton's division on the right, advanced slowly through a dense thicket of second growth and brush, to the crest of the hill. The left of Brooks's division was on a line with Salem Church. The enemy was in strong force about the church, with sharp shooters on the inside, and opened a sharp enfilading fire upon the left of Brooks's line. Unable to hold its position against superior numbers advantageously posted, the line fell slowly back, followed by the enemy, but his advance was soon checked by our batteries. The troops were reformed, and again advanced upon the woods forcing back the enemy, but with fresh troops coming to his assistance he made a determined resistance and checked the progress of the corps. Darkness ended the battle, and our troops rested upon their arms. The Sixth Corps had marched ten miles in sixteen hours, driving all the way a vigilant and determined enemy, captured three fortified positions and without halting, except to form lines of battle and columns of assault, and at the close of the day remained on the line of battle, the second of two battles fought on the same day, each of which will rank among the severest of the many fought throughout the war.

General Lee, having driven Hooker from two lines, as described in the last chapter, turned his attention to Sedgwick's advance. General McLaws's division was detached from Lee's line at Chancellorsville and sent to strengthen

the forces resisting the Sixth Corps at Salem Church, and, soon after, General R. H. Anderson's division was ordered to report to McLaws. At an early hour on the morning of May 4th, General Sedgwick learned that the forces in his immediate front had been largely reinforced, and that another column of the enemy had occupied the heights of Fredericksburg and cut off his communication with the town. He formed his corps for defense, putting Howe's division in line to the rear with his left on the Rappahannock, and his right extending south to join with Newton's south of the Plank road, which extended west to Salem Heights, joining Brooks's, which turned north toward the Rappahannock, forming three sides of a square in front of Banks's Ford, a battle line three miles long. The enemy, after cutting our communications with Fredericksburg, next tried to cut off our connection with Banks's Ford. General Howe defeated this effort and captured a large number of prisoners in doing it. While General Sedgwick was reforming his lines, on the morning of the 4th, General Hooker notified him that he had contracted his lines, and instructed him

"to look well to the safety of his corps, preserve communications with Fredericksburg and Banks's Ford, to fall back on the former place, or recross, in preference at the ford, where he could more readily communicate with the main body."

With his communications cut with Fredericksburg, and the enemy pressing his thin line, it was not possible to cross the river in daylight. General Hooker advised Sedgwick that he was too far away to direct his movements; he could not relieve him, and the day was passed in protecting his line until darkness should veil his movements; then the Sixth Corps began crossing on the bridge, which had been laid on the 3rd, after Wilcox had moved his brigade to the support of the enemy's line at Salem Church. At 2 o'clock on the

morning of the 5th, when a large portion of the corps had crossed, General Hooker countermanded the order to withdraw, but the first order had been substantially executed, and it was impossible to return to the south bank in face of the superior force on the ground to resist it. The Sixth Corps had captured five battle flags, fifteen pieces of artillery, nine of which were brought off, (six having been left at Fredericksburg were retaken on the enemy's occupation of the town,) and fourteen hundred prisoners, many of high rank; these trophies cost the loss of 493 killed, 2,710 wounded, 1,497 missing, a total of 4,700, or about forty per cent. of the number taken into action. Gibbon's division recrossed the river before daylight on the 5th, having lost 8 killed, 90 wounded, and 12 missing, a total of 110. The Sixteenth New York took 30 officers and 380 enlisted men on the campaign; of the 410 there were 24 killed, 12 mortally wounded, 101 wounded, and 17 captured not wounded, a total of 154. A nominal list will be found in the Appendix, page 362.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE CHANCELLORSVILLE CAMPAIGN REVIEWED

GENERAL HOOKER had planned a campaign to capture or destroy General Lee's army, the preliminary movements of which were successfully and brilliantly executed. Dividing his army into two wings, he placed the right, consisting of three corps and two divisions, with more men than General Lee had at his disposal, on the left flank of the Confederate defenses and near the roads leading to his line of communication, while three corps and one division were stationed on the bank of the Rappahannock, opposite the front and right flank of Lee's fortifications, with pontoons at hand to construct bridges over which these troops could be quickly marched to positions on the south side; all this was done without a contest. General Hooker's order of April 28th, for the marching of his right wing, contemplated the gaining of a position on the Plank road, near Tabernacle Church, which would uncover Banks's Ford and bring the wings of his army within co-operating distance of each other, but before the corps constituting the right wing came together at Chancellorsville he ordered that there should be no advance from that place. General Pleasonton, whose cavalry had preceded the infantry and artillery columns, rode over the ground three or four miles beyond Chancellorsville, on the 29th and 30th of April, and, on his arrival at Chancellorsville, strongly urged the commanding general to advance promptly to the position indicated in his first order. That General Hooker had ample justification

for not advancing on the 30th will be conceded when the exhausted condition of his troops is considered; this is shown by the statements of two commanders, the first of whom had marched the shortest, and the other the longest, distance from their camps to Chancellorsville. General Humphreys says in his report:

"I reached Ely's Ford between 12 and 1 o'clock (April 30th), but I found my troops so much exhausted, that, after fording the river, I bivouacked on Hunting Creek, three miles from Chancellorsville, having marched at least eighteen miles. On the morning of May 1, my division was at Chancellorsville at 7 o'clock, it having been delayed one hour by the tardiness of the First Brigade, a tardiness that General Tyler attributed to the fatigue of the men."

General Slocum says in his report:

"Most of my corps marched more than sixty miles in three and a half days, over bad roads and through a severe rain-storm, the men carrying on their persons eight days' rations (more than double the amount ever before carried by any troops in this army), besides sixty rounds of ammunition and the usual amount of clothing. On this march the command crossed two rivers, a portion of it fording one of them."

The importance of having troops in fresh and vigorous condition when taken into battle, especially against a well organized and ably commanded army, such as General Hooker was to meet, requires no explanation or argument. It is certain that the right wing of Hooker's army was not in proper physical condition to meet the enemy on the 30th of April; but one night's rest invigorated it, and on the 1st of May it could have marched at daylight in as good condition as at 11 A.M. At daylight, the two corps which led the advance, with one corps following on the right flank, could

have marched and, without opposition, have reached the Tabernacle Church before 8 o'clock, and would have found there only six brigades and their batteries of the enemy's forces; this force was not increased until 11 A.M., when "Stonewall" Jackson arrived from Fredericksburg with eleven brigades and their batteries. Although General Hooker had allowed his army to remain in camp five or six hours after daylight before beginning the advance, he could have formed line of battle at the place reached by his troops at 12 o'clock, on an open plain where artillery and infantry could be manœuvred. He withdrew his army to Chancellorsville against the urgent advice of his chief engineer, General Warren; of Generals Couch and Slocum, commanding corps; of Generals Hancock and Sykes, commanding divisions; and of General Pleasonton, commanding the cavalry.

Although Chancellorsville as a position was bad in every feature, having no natural protection for the flanks, without sufficient cavalry to guard them, and with the commanding positions left for the enemy to occupy without opposition, Hooker could nevertheless have won a victory with his numerical superiority, could he have roused himself, and acted upon the undeniable truths contained in his instructions to his cavalry commander, that "celerity, audacity, and resolution are everything in war." "Stonewall" Jackson's unlooked-for attack upon, and success in breaking the Eleventh Corps was a serious matter, not so serious, however, but that Jackson's column could have been routed, possibly destroyed, had the First and the Fifth Corps been promptly advanced to the attack. General Lee renewed the battle at daylight on Sunday morning, May 3rd, and was held back by the troops of the Second, the Third, and the Twelfth Corps for three hours, when their ammunition was exhausted, and they were compelled to retire, although the

First, the Fifth, and the Eleventh Corps had all the morning been awaiting orders to join in the battle. General Hooker had been notified, an hour before he was injured while on the Chancellor House porch, that ammunition should be supplied or fresh troops should relieve those on the firing line, to which call he paid no attention. Hooker's injuries were at first thought to be mortal by those who were near him, but he was able in a few minutes to ride to the rear, when he sent for General Couch, the officer next in rank, who says in his article in *The Battles and Leaders*, that he received the following instructions:

"'You will withdraw the army and place it in the position designated on this map,' pointing to a line traced on a field sketch. This was perhaps three-quarters of an hour after his hurt. He seemed rather dull, but possessed of his mental faculties."

At the time General Hooker ordered Couch to withdraw the firing line to the new and last position, it was not then too late to save the day. General Couch explains, in his article in the *Battles and Leaders*, how it could have been done by ordering forward batteries and corps which had not been engaged, and General Sickles, in his official report, confirms Couch's opinion:

"With the exception of his artillery, which sustained its fire and advanced toward Fairview, there was nothing like ardor—indeed, there was every indication of exhaustion—in the advance of the enemy after occupying our lines at Fairview. . . . It would not have been difficult to regain the lost ground with the bayonet, as I proposed to do."

General Sickles made every effort to obtain supports at this time, sending a staff officer to the commanders of the troops held in the rear to urge them to advance to his support

and to save the day, but these officers, among them General Meade, were unwilling to move without orders. Meade was the first officer notified by Couch that the line was to be retired by the order of the commanding general, and, doubtless because of that knowledge, refused to comply with a request to act contrary to the general's plan. At no time, from the crossing of the Rappahannock to the withdrawal of the army to the north side, could Hooker have been beaten had he fought his army. Every retrograde movement from the position gained on the 1st day of May, by the Fifth and the Twelfth Corps, served to increase his difficulties; these, and his failure to follow the request of the President made on his visit of the 19th of April, quoted in a previous chapter, "in your next fight, put in all your men," were the chief causes of the disasters of the campaign.

Others may be noted, including the sending away of his cavalry to operate in the enemy's rear, where its services, however brilliant, were, at the best, far less useful than those it could have rendered with the army in protecting its flanks and, in case of success, in following the enemy's rear and cutting off his trains. The leaving of General Butterfield, his chief of staff, at the old headquarters at Falmouth, was a most serious loss to Hooker. No officer in his command was of so much importance to him as General Butterfield, and any staff officer could have transmitted Hooker's orders from the right wing to Sedgwick as well as Butterfield. General Joseph Dickinson, late of Hooker's staff at Chancellorsville, stated in an address delivered at Paterson, New Jersey, April 9, 1896,[1] that General Slocum was responsible for Hooker's failure to fight his battle near Tabernacle Church; this claim is refuted by the official report of General Williams of Slocum's Corps as to the place where Dickinson

[1] General Tremain's *Two Days of War*.

found the Twelfth corps, and by General Hooker's dispatch, stating he had recalled the troops, some of whom were in position, "on the receipt of news from the other side of the river." General Hooker, testifying before the Congressional Committee on the Conduct of the War, stated:

"In my judgment General Sedgwick did not obey the spirit of my order, and made no sufficient effort to obey it. His movement was delayed so long that the enemy discovered his intentions; and when that was done, he was necessarily delayed in the further execution of the order."

General Hooker would not have made that statement if he had had before him, at the time he testified, his own order, the hour of its receipt, and the record of the march. No operations of General John Sedgwick, throughout his long and distinguished service in the army, which ended by a shot from the enemy while he was on the firing line of his corps in the battle of the Wilderness, was worthier of high commendation than his efforts to comply with Hooker's order of May 2, 1863. General Couch in his article, already quoted from, contrasts the actions of Hooker with those of Sedgwick:

"Some of the most anomalous occurrences of the war took place in this campaign. On the night of May 2nd the commanding general, with eighty thousand men in his wing of the army, directed Sedgwick, with twenty-two thousand, to march to his relief. While that officer was doing this on the 3rd, and when it would be expected that every effort would be made by the right wing to do its part, only one-half of it was fought (or rather half fought, for its ammunition was not replenished), and then the whole wing withdrawn to a place where it could not be hurt, leaving Sedgwick to take care of himself."

The official records show that the right wing of Hooker's army, consisting of the First, the Third, the Fifth, the Eleventh, and the Twelfth Corps, two divisions of the Second Corps, made up of forty-five brigades of infantry, the artillery of the corps, and Pleasonton's cavalry, remained inactive behind the fortified lines, where Hooker withdrew them before noon on the 3rd of May, until they crossed to the north side of the river on the morning of the 6th of May. In the mean time there were in Hooker's front only Generals A. P. Hill's, D. H. Hill's, and Trimble's divisions of "Stonewall" Jackson's corps, made up of fifteen brigades of infantry, the artillery of the corps, and Stuart's cavalry. At 11 o'clock of the 3rd of May, General Lee detached from his forces the division of General McLaws, and later, General R. H. Anderson's division, to intercept Sedgwick. McLaws met Sedgwick's column at Salem Church, and Anderson proceeded to turn Sedgwick's left flank and cut him off from Fredericksburg. Sedgwick maintained his position with the enemy on three sides of his corps until the night of the 5th, when he withdrew to the north side under orders sent him on the morning of the 4th.

General Sedgwick was defeated in his efforts to reach "the commanding general at Chancellorsville" because Hooker did not engage the enemy and retain him in his front, but retired to a fortified line when his forces outnumbered the enemy. Here he remained inactive, and General Lee retained of his forces to oppose Hooker's wing, a number one-third that of Hooker's, and sent two divisions to overwhelm Sedgwick.

Had the ammunition of the Third and the Twelfth Corps been replenished on the morning of the 3rd of May, and had the First and the Fifth Corps been put into action on the 2nd or 3rd of May, the battle of Chancellorsville would have been placed at the head of the brilliant victories of the

Union Armies, instead of being regarded as one of its most humiliating defeats. The noble Army of the Potomac was in this campaign severely punished without the slightest compensation. Its commanding general was whipped, and by reason of his acting contrary to his usual practice, and against the sound advice of his able subordinates.

The casualties in both wings were 1,606 killed, 9,762 wounded, 5,919 missing, a total of 17,287, including a large number of officers, among them Major-General Hiram G. Berry killed, and Major-General Amiel W. Whipple mortally wounded. The Confederates lost 1,581 killed, 8,700 wounded, 2,018 missing, a total of 12,299, including a large number of general officers. General E. F. Paxton was killed, Generals A. P. Hill, R. F. Hoke, Henry Heth, W. D. Pender, F. T. Nicholls and Samuel McGowan were severely wounded, and Lieutenant-General Thomas J. Jackson mortally.

General Thomas J. Jackson was one of the most remarkable men brought forward in our Civil War, and one of the most unique characters who has held a prominent place in the world's fierce contests. His military genius was recognized by friend and foe. General Lee wrote to him:

"I have just received your note informing me that you were wounded. I cannot express my regret at the occurrence. Could I have directed events, I should have chosen, for the good of the country, to have been disabled in your stead. I congratulate you upon the victory, which is due to your skill and energy."

Later he writes, on receiving news that General Jackson's left arm had been amputated:

"You are better off than I am, for while you have only lost your *left* arm, I have lost my *right* arm."

These generous words of praise and tender playful sympathy were those of one who thoroughly appreciated the great ability and phenomenal qualities of his chief subordinate. Thomas Jonathan Jackson was an American, born in Virginia of Scotch-Irish stock, and a kinsman of Andrew Jackson. He was educated at the Military Academy at West Point, and had served in the Mexican War, where he won honors for skill and bravery. He was reared in the belief that the State was sovereign, and that her citizens had the right to secede from the Union. On resigning from the Regular Army he became a college professor, in which position he occupied himself with the duties of his class-room and in studying the Bible, the words and spirit of which so completely occupied his mind that every undertaking was preceded by prayer and concluded with thanks to the Dispenser of all good.

His appointment to the command of a regiment by the Governor of Virginia, at the beginning of hostilities, was a surprise to all but those who knew his West Point standing and his record in Mexico. In his first battle at Bull Run, he won the *sobriquet* of "Stonewall" by the firm manner in which he held his command to the terrible work of that eventful day. Firmness, indomitable courage to stand up to punishment, were not his chief or only qualities; in that line of action he had many equals. Celerity of movement, audacity of attack, generally made in total disregard of all prudent considerations, running to the extreme of recklessness against every hazard, were his chief characteristics; yet he chose his points of attack and perfected his plans so well that he was uniformly successful.

The man with whom he can best be compared as a fighter is John Paul Jones, commander of the *Bon Homme Richard*. Each inspired his men and led them to the performance of deeds for which officers of ordinary ability as fighters

would have required twice the number which either commanded in winning great victories. Captain John Paul Jones was of Scotch birth, a Virginia colonist, who struck one of the first blows in our Revolutionary struggle by knocking down an English naval officer in a ball-room in Norfolk, Virginia, for words spoken derogatory to American women. Our navy will maintain its invincible character so long as his spirit inflames the officers on the bridge and the men behind the guns.

General Horace Porter, soldier and diplomat, has well performed his part in military and civil life, and deserves commendation for his valuable services in matters of great concern: but it is certain that his unselfish and unremitting efforts to discover the burial place of John Paul Jones, and the steps taken to have his remains brought to the country he served so well, have tended to enhance in the minds of our people the value of General Porter's public services, and drawn to him sentiments of affectionate esteem.

Both of these men, John Paul Jones and "Stonewall" Jackson, were great Virginians; Jones a courtier, a dashing favorite of royalty, of statesmen, of martial heroes, and of fortune as well; Jackson, a modest Christian gentleman, who lived the life of an ascetic, not in a desert or in a cell, but before the world, illustrating by sincerity and devotion his unquestioned faith in the beauty of that philosophy, of which Plato wrote, and Milton sang:

> "How charming is divine philosophy!
> Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose;
> But musical as is Apollo's lute,
> And a perpetual feast of nectar'd sweets,
> Where no crude surfeit reigns."

President Roosevelt has drawn still nearer to himself many a soldier of our Civil War, men who stood before, as well as

those who stood beside "Stonewall" Jackson, by his recent appointment of Jackson's grandson as a cadet at West Point, where, it is hoped, he will bring to the best of instruction in military science the spirit and genius of his distinguished grandfather.

I have written of General Hooker's failure at Chancellorsville, with no unfriendly feelings toward one who was justly esteemed a most splendid fighter, but as one who desires to treat all the distinguished participants in that unfortunate campaign with fairness, and to permit no favoritism to place undeserved responsibility for errors committed on those who, from first to last, not only performed all prescribed duties faithfully, but went to the extreme of prudence and of strict propriety in urging a policy which would have led to success. That this spirit has prompted the criticism made, the following analysis of his character and recognition of his valuable service will readily show.

General Hooker's forte was that of an aggressive fighter; to strike and to strike first was the natural bent of his character. He exhibited none of that keen watchfulness which enables one to take advantage of an adversary's mistake, to strike a counter and telling blow; if he had, he would not, with the overwhelming force at his command, have permitted "Stonewall" Jackson's flank attack to have ended with less than his destruction. On arriving at Chancellorsville, he reversed the inclination and habits of a lifetime, assumed the defensive, found himself beset with conditions with which he was unacquainted, and to meet which he had neither the skill nor energy required.

His title of "Fighting Joe Hooker" was well won at Williamsburg, Virginia, at South Mountain and Antietam, Maryland, and at Fredericksburg, Virginia. Frederick the Great said, "A general who never made a mistake is one who never fought a battle." It may truthfully be said that

Chancellorsville was General Hooker's one mistake. It should be remembered also that in all his battles except Chancellorsville he executed the instructions of another.

General Hooker's appointment to the command of the Army of the Potomac was earnestly favored by Secretary Chase, and supported by a strong public sentiment; it was opposed by the Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton, and by the General-in-chief, General Halleck, and, it is believed, had the corps commanders been consulted not one would have advised it. While there was no change in the opinion of those who doubted the wisdom of his appointment, every one faithfully supported all his efforts, and none more loyally than the corps commanders who saw the most promising prospects for a decisive victory turned into a humiliating defeat, wholly due to his changing from an aggressive to a defensive policy.

General Hooker's army life was marked by many incidents which must have awakened feelings of the most intense satisfaction. One was that of his assignment to the command of the Army of the Potomac, which immediately followed General Burnside's request that Hooker should be dismissed from the rolls of the army. This appointment was an official endorsement of his ability and services and this, too, notwithstanding the biting letter of the President which accompanied it. One sentence of that letter should never have been written. This sentence, the most unfortunate ever spoken or penned by President Lincoln in his official life, in which he justly gained the reputation of being one of the wisest and best rulers in the world's history, is reproduced:

"I think that during General Burnside's command of the army you have taken counsel of your ambition, thwarted him as much as you could, in which you did great wrong to the country and to a most meritorious and honorable brother officer."

Those who best knew the condition of the Army of the Potomac at Falmouth did not credit the charge that Burnside's officers thwarted the plans of the commanding general, or withheld loyal coöperation; they did advise against fruitless efforts; that disasters followed their attempted execution proved the fault of the plans, not that support was withheld.

The President had construed the prudent advice given by General Hooker and other officers of the Army of the Potomac as evidence of insubordination and of culpable negligence, but when he said "I think you thwarted him," and in that belief placed him in command of the army, he indicated his readiness to condone the gravest of military offences—the unpardonable sin in war—the withholding of support in action. Probably no event of Hooker's official life gave him greater pleasure than the words of General McClellan, written three days after the battle of Antietam, expressing his high commendation of Hooker's ability and gallantry in action. I quote the latter part of the letter:

"Had you not been wounded when you were, I believe the result of the battle would have been the entire destruction of the rebel army; for I know that with you at its head your corps would have kept on until it gained the main wall. As a slight expression of what I think you merit, I have requested that the brigadier-general's commission rendered vacant by Mansfield's death be given to you."

CHAPTER XXV

SALEM HEIGHTS. THE SIXTEENTH'S LAST BATTLE

THERE were thirty two-years' regiments from New York in the Army of the Potomac (eight of them in the Sixth Corps), whose terms of service were about to expire, when the preliminary orders were issued for the beginning of the Chancellorsville campaign. The superior officers felt some concern as to the willingness of these regiments to engage in battle immediately before the expiration of their term of service. The members of a few regiments had expressed the opinion that they were entitled to be discharged in two years from their enrolment by the State, and, had this construction been accepted, many would have been discharged in April, for tender of service and enrolment in companies had been made as early as the day on which President Lincoln called for troops. The correct view, however, that their term of two years began on the date of their muster into the United States service, was entertained in most of the regiments. That was the opinion of the officers and men of the Sixteenth, and had been since the question was settled on the 11th of August, 1861.

Brigade and division commanders visited certain two-years' regiments to discuss the subject, and it was proposed to have the Sixteenth addressed. To this proposition, Colonel Seaver stated that such effort was quite unnecessary, for he could assure them that the regiment was willing to go into battle at any time before the actual expiration of their

term, and to fight until the battle was decided; that his regiment had never marched to the rear at the sound of the enemy's guns, unless under orders, and that all desired to participate in the coming battles. In this statement, the colonel expressed the sentiments of the officers and of the men of the Sixteenth, and no speeches or efforts to persuade them were made. Not only without hesitation, but with alacrity, the regiment formed for its last battle, many entering the ranks who were physically unable to endure the hardships before them.

It had been frequently repeated by the Sixteenth that it would give them great satisfaction to meet the Fifth Alabama Rifles whom they had disturbed at dinner on the first trip to Manassas, and the Sixth Alabama Rifles whom Companies B and G had met in front of the Grigsby House, on the 21st of July, 1861. After exchanging shots, the recalls for both sides had been sounded at the same time, and the two companies of the Sixteenth returned to their places in the battle-line just in time to witness the advance of Jones' brigade of the Fifth South Carolina, and the Seventeenth and the Eighteenth Mississippi regiments, and to see them handsomely repulsed by Hunt's and Edwards's batteries. They did finally meet the Seventeenth and the Eighteenth Mississippi regiments, now under General Barksdale, and General John B. Gordon, who was in command of a brigade of Georgians instead of the skirmish line of the Sixth Alabama Rifles, of which he was major in July, 1861. The Fifth and Sixth Alabama Rifles, were off among the troops "emboldened to attack" General Hooker at Chancellorsville. While it did not fall out that the Sixteenth had an opportunity to hold other than a sharp and spirited correspondence with the Mississippians across a very narrow space, the fortune of war so ran that a number of the latter with the colors of the Eighteenth Mississippi, fell into the hands

of the Sixth Corps. Corporal Henry Rogers and Private George Hill of Company D, Sixteenth New York, seized a horse, saddled and bridled, belonging to Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. Luse of the Eighteenth Mississippi regiment and took him to Lieutenant-Colonel Palmer of the Sixteenth. Colonel Palmer, disabled by wounds in this action, rode him to the rear and took him home to Plattsburgh, New York, where he rendered good service to the colonel for many years. This horse was unsurpassed under the saddle, but when put in harness, he declined to submit to the degradation and would not move. A well-bred horse seems to understand, as well as an intelligent horseman, that putting a horse in harness destroys him for the saddle.

Never was the Sixteenth put into a hotter fight, and never did it show more valor and fortitude than in the battle of Salem Heights, where it contended against overwhelming numbers. The official reports set forth in glowing terms the meritorious conduct of the rank and file, and no additional evidence is necessary to signalize their devotion to duty. There was one member of the regiment, not of the combative class, whose conduct during the five months of his service with the regiment deserves special mention.

At a meeting of the officers of the Sixteenth, called to nominate a chaplain, Lieutenant-Colonel Franklin Palmer presented the name of the Reverend Francis B. Hall, and said that he was a ripe scholar, a good sermonizer, a zealous parish worker, and one who would perform the duties of chaplain in an acceptable manner. On the receipt of his commission, he joined the regiment and fulfilled all that was promised of him and more; his practical sound sense, his active labors to promote the welfare of all, his sincerity and abiding faith in the truths he taught, his winning manners and dignified bearing won him the confidence and the affection of all.

Chaplain Hall was the son of an army officer, bred in an atmosphere of high ideals, a graduate of Union College and of Princeton Theological Seminary, a patriot, and a philanthropist ever seeking out the afflicted to minister to their necessities. He accepted no pay for his services, and when presented with the pay roll to sign and receive his salary he returned it with these words written before his name, "I am fully compensated for my services in being given an opportunity to serve my country." He was not a rich man in the accepted meaning of that term but, with a modest competency, he lived with dignity and comfort in Plattsburgh, New York, improving every opportunity to promote the public weal by his personal labors and timely contributions. It would fill a large book to tell of his beneficent acts in civil life; I wish to write of him as an army chaplain. In the battle of Salem Heights, Chaplain Hall, dressed in the uniform of his high office and carrying no arms, advanced with the firing line, keeping step with the file closers, for the sole purpose of ministering to those who might be disabled in action. He gave simple treatment to those who could go to the rear without assistance, and finding others in need of prompt surgical aid, he carried them to the nearest stretcher-bearers and returned to the front. When the regiment retired, he remained and brought off a wounded man. He possessed a most splendid courage and a devotion to duty that took no account of danger; no words of elaboration can exalt his services; the simple narration of them will suffice. The superlative of the sublime in human action is attained only by a combination of fortitude, courage, devotion, and a just sense of duty; Chaplain Hall had all these qualities, and was moved by an unselfish zeal which no obstacle could chill. The expressions of appreciation herein given are slight when compared with the action of the War Department in granting him a Congressional

Medal of Honor, the ground of award being "For voluntarily exposing himself to a heavy fire during the thickest of the fight, and carrying wounded men to the rear for treatment and attendance, Salem Heights, Virginia, May 3, 1863."

This medal was awarded for extraordinary services rendered in the line of his profession, and is the only Medal of Honor ever conferred on an army chaplain for gallant conduct performed within the legitimate sphere of a chaplain's duties. There is the record of another Medal of Honor having been conferred on a chaplain; "For voluntarily carrying a musket in the ranks of his regiment and rendering heroic services in retaking the Federal works which had been captured by the enemy." Chaplain Hall marched forward to give succor to the injured, thus inspiring his comrades to the most heroic efforts; the other chaplain advanced with a warrior's weapon to give physical force, not spiritual comfort or relieving assistance to the suffering.

Major-General Martin T. McMahon, Adjutant-General and Chief of Staff of the Sixth Corps, was a recognized authority on social and military etiquette. He once found an army chaplain, behind a barricade, shooting at officers in the Confederate lines, and administered to him such a severe lesson on the rules of the service as to non-combatants that it is doubtful if the chaplain's mind could have been eased by a multitude of medals.

CHAPTER XXVI

UNDER THE ENEMY'S FIRE

THE question most frequently put to a veteran is the one which is the most difficult to answer,—"How did you feel when going into battle and while under fire?" One of the greatest blessings to a soldier is the well established fact, that the vivid impressions which precede and for a short time continue in the progress of a battle are soon effaced; were it not so his life would be filled with perpetual disquietude. I fortunately belong to that optimistic class who believe that all things are ordered for the best, and, while credited with an excellent memory for the details of past events in which I participated, I am able to recall only shadowy recollections of the hard experience of army life, gained in a wide field of operations covering every phase of attack and defense. The fear of death is at best but momentary, and is only felt when it appears imminent; as soon as the crisis is past it is the first thing forgotten. This is not generally understood, for, if it were, the belief that the fear of death is a deterrent and a useful agent in the suppression of crime, would have no intelligent supporters. The philospher and the veteran soldier agree that it is valueless as a warning. A venerable bishop once said, "death is the last thing a man should think about"; and, of all the vocations, I believe those who follow the profession of arms are the best observers of the bishop's advice.

No two men are alike in physical structure or in mental endowment, and no two soldiers with whom I have conversed

report that they had the same feelings when going into battle, nor could any one say that he was similarly affected in different battles. The most that any have been able to tell of their feelings may be reduced to the simple statement, that changes in their normal condition began at the first indication that an engagement was to take place. The severest test begins with loading, in proximity to the enemy, and continues to increase until the engagement becomes general; up to that time speculation causes nervousness, apprehension, dread, sometimes fear, momentarily disturbing the equilibrium of the body, the steadiness of the limbs, and, in rare cases, causing functional disorders. These effects were sometimes produced on brave men who, despite them, held their ground, silently struggling to control their emotions until the paroxysm passed off, which it was certain to do as soon as the action became close and furious. Then one becomes wholly absorbed in the struggle, firmly holds the ground, joins in the charge, or withstands the surging assault, totally unmindful of self, and filled with an irresistible desire to do his utmost. Then it is that the finest fibre of his nature is steeled, his tenderest sentiments and gentlest feelings become as adamant, and a stoic serenity succeeds until the contest ends in victory or defeat. It must not be supposed that a soldier, who defends his colors with sabre, bayonet, or butt of musket in a hand-to-hand contest, or in like manner contends for the possession of a battery or in the defense of one, comes forth tempered to the brutish instincts; but rather refined like metal from the crucible, the better elements brightened. The most terrible position in which a soldier can be placed is that of being under fire, and not permitted, or able, to return it.

I had no fear of death in battle, for before I was mustered into service, I had a presentiment that I should not be killed in the army, but would have my eyesight injured. I did,

however, feel much concern as to the outcome of each engagement; my associates said that my cheeks would be pallid for a few moments, and that I invariably turned my cap round so that the visor would be at the back of my head, and kept it there until the battle was over. This act of turning my cap was an unconscious one, and it was regarded by my command as a sign that the fight was on. In my last battle, I lost the sight of my left eye by the fragment of a shell. Although, in two battles, I was advised by surgeons on the field that I was mortally wounded, I was nevertheless at no time shaken in my belief that I should survive the war.

The attempt to analyze the feelings of a soldier going into battle, so far as I have been able to recall my own sensations, and from questioning many who have had large experience in fierce contests, results in separating those emotions into three general classes: first, the fear of death, which is the least disturbing; secondly, the fear of being permanently disabled; thirdly, and the most keen of them all, the fear that one's bearing and general conduct may discredit him with his associates and lose him the consideration of his superiors. Nothing can be more distressing to a good soldier than to have it said that his behavior in action was not manly and valorous. The congenital coward, so far as his feelings have been disclosed, was seized with an uncontrollable fear of death, from which no appeal to manliness or honor could arouse him. Happily, men of this class seldom numbered two per cent. of a military organization, and they were invariably found among the bullies and braggarts. Active service corrected many false notions as to the characters of men. At the beginning of our war, many thought that the boastful fisticuffs, the provokers of brawls and those inclined to incite quarrels were to gain credit by an exhibition of fortitude and valor in battle, and that the well-bred,

self-respecting, modest gentlemen were the least likely to win honors in the fierce conflict of arms. These opinions were soon reversed, for "the bravest are the tenderest, the loving are the daring."

Presentiments that one would not survive the next battle were frequently discussed, when those who had disclosed to comrades their apprehensions and ordered a disposition of their effects were found among the killed or mortally wounded. The cases of Bishop, Love, and Ploof, previously recorded, were by no means the only ones which came to my knowledge. These presentiments or previous notices of death came to men of varied character and accomplishments, to men in the ranks, and to officers holding important positions. I have no acquaintance with so called fortune tellers, or with those who profess to hold communion with the other world, but I saw so many cases of presentiments which were realized that, when on one occasion, just before ordering an advance in an important battle, (Fort Fisher, North Carolina) I was apprised of the fact that a brave officer had received a warning, I at once sent word to the officer of next rank in the regiment to take a position where he could be easily communicated with. Before this officer had reached the position indicated, the colonel had received a mortal hurt and died without regaining consciousness. Not one of the persons who entertained these sentiments ever failed to discharge faithfully every duty imposed as promptly as any of their associates. That many of these presentiments were not realized, or again spoken of, is also true, and no confidence can be placed in their infallibility.

Changes in the methods and implements of warfare have, no doubt, tended to modify the sentiments of those contending in battle. From the days when soldiers fought with javelins and spears down to the introduction of gunpowder, personal prowess and physical strength were the essential

qualities of an army. Prowess is and always will be an important element, but discipline and skill in the use of firearms and artillery will make efficient soldiers of many who would not have been much esteemed in earlier days. Two of the world's greatest writers have given us the views of men respecting the changes in the implements of war, but little or nothing to disclose the feelings of soldiers engaged in actual battle. Shakespeare in *Henry IV*, gives Hotspur's views of a popinjay who condemned the use of powder:

> "And it was a great pity, so it was,
> That villanous salt-peter should be digg'd
> Out of the bowels of the harmless earth
> Which many a good tall fellow has destroy'd
> So cowardly; and, but for those vile guns,
> He would himself have been a soldier."

These ideas may have been gained from his contemporary Cervantes, a brave soldier who gained honors and wounds in the battle of Lepanto, and who lamented the use of gunpowder and artillery, as appears in the oration on "Arms and Letters" of his hero, Don Quixote:

"Happy those ages which knew not the dreadful fury of artillery:—those instruments of hell (where I verily believe the inventor is now receiving the reward of his diabolical ingenuity), by means of which the cowardly and the base can deprive the bravest soldier of life. While a gallant spirit animated with heroic ardor is pressing to glory, comes a chance ball sent by one who perhaps fled in alarm at the flash of his own accursed weapon, and in an instant cuts short the life of him who deserved to live for ages. When I consider this, I almost repent having undertaken this profession of knight-errantry in so detestable an age; for though no danger can daunt me, still it gives me some concern to think that powder and lead may suddenly cut short my career of glory."

The effectiveness of the musket and cannon of Cervantes' day was hardly one-fifth as great as it was in our Civil War, and since then the improvements in "those instruments of hell" have increased tenfold the range and the penetrating power of projectiles. Many believed, at the close of our war in 1865, that the assaulting of entrenched lines and the use of the bayonet had come to an end; yet the war in the far East has shown that, notwithstanding the great improvement in firearms, the addition of rapid fire and machine guns, and the general use of torpedoes, grenades, and barbed wire entanglements, close action can still be practised. Great as have been the losses in the battles in the far East, no battle on the open field has been attended by so large a percentage of casualties as were sustained in the battles between Americans, in determining the seat of sovereignty.

CHAPTER XXVII

MEDICAL CARE AND HOSPITAL LIFE

POORLY prepared as the Government was, at the beginning of the war, for conducting great military operations, it is believed that the Medical Department was in the worst condition of any branch of the public service. This was not due to the character and qualifications of its officers, but to the fact that Congress had neglected to make proper provision for its needs and for the progress made in the profession. It may safely be said that Congress has, even to the present day, neglected to give proper consideration to that branch, or make suitable provision for its improvement. The war between Russia and Japan has taught the nations that they have much to do to raise their medical departments to the high state of efficiency maintained in the Japanese army. Our medical officers have been given meagre compensation, uncertain and, at the best, slow advancement, the most competent never attaining more than third or fourth rate recognition. This department of the army has certainly not been an inviting field for men of talent and marked skill, yet many have entered the Medical Corps from higher motives than the simple rewards of rank and compensation, and have brought to it high attainments and skill which placed them among the first of their noble profession.

During the Civil War the surgeons-general of the States required that applicants for appointment, as surgeons and assistant surgeons of regiments entering the field, should submit to a most thorough examination to establish their

fitness for the position sought; yet many who passed the technical examination were utterly incompetent to discharge the duties required, and, in some cases, physicians sought the positions merely for the purpose of perfecting themselves in surgery; but a majority of the medical officers were competent and faithful.

The camps were located by their commanders "at or near" some stated positions, without the advice of an officer of the engineer or medical branches of the service, no thought being given to sanitary conditions. These evils were augmented by bad cooking, the open sale in the camps by sutlers and "pie peddlers" of the most unwholesome trash, and the use of contaminated water; these conditions had to be met as best they could by officers totally ignorant of the proper care of men, their drill, and discipline. The regimental hospitals had few facilities for properly caring for the sick, no special diet, no trained nurses, seldom cots, and, generally, a rubber and a woolen blanket as their only bedding. The most intelligent surgeons protested against these methods, but with little avail. General hospitals, to which the worst cases were sent, were better provided for, but the red-tape which had to be unwound left many to die in camp, whose recovery might have been speedily secured in a well appointed hospital. The cases previously mentioned illustrate the difference between good hospital care under a competent surgeon, and the facilities and care of an ordinary field hospital.

The system of caring for the sick and wounded was greatly improved as the war progressed, and the Government doubtless had this branch of the service as efficiently managed as in other countries. It is not the intention of the writer to follow the steps taken by the Government officials to bring about the important changes that were effected, but to notice more particularly the unofficial and unpaid labors of the

noble men and women who came forward to supply deficiencies in material, and to care, not only for the sick and wounded in general hospitals throughout the country, but for those in the regimental camps and field hospitals.

What these unselfish patriots accomplished in the camps, the field hospitals, and the general hospitals established in Northern cities, is well understood and appreciated by those who fell under their care, but too little consideration has been given in the official reports and war papers to the magnitude and importance of the services rendered by organized associations and by individuals. The scope of this work will not admit of more than a brief reference to the most important association, "The United States Sanitary Commission," which raised from voluntary contributions by the people and disbursed in medical supplies to the sick and wounded soldiers, twenty-five millions of dollars.

Important as was the work of the Sanitary Commission, in providing articles not furnished by the Medical Department of the army, it was indeed very small when compared with the inestimable services of the patriotic and devoted women who nursed and cared for the men disabled by wounds and disease. Although no complete history of the Sanitary Commission has ever yet been written, much interesting and valuable information relating to its purpose and work can be obtained from *The United States Sanitary Commission* edited by Miss Katharine Prescott Wormeley, published by Little, Brown and Company; from *The Other Side of War* by the same author, published by the Commandery of the State of Massachusetts, Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, and from *Hospital Transports* compiled by Mrs. Kirkland, published by Ticknor and Fields; and from the letters and journals of those engaged in this service.

As late as August, 1861, there were no chaplains in the

Washington and Alexandria Hospitals, and frequently "no one at hand to read or pray for a dying man, or to conduct the funeral services of the dead." Miss Georgeanna M. Woolsey wrote to President Lincoln asking that chaplains should be appointed, but no action was taken; then Mrs. Howland wrote to Colonel Van Rensselaer, of General Scott's staff, and received the following letter:

"HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,
WASHINGTON, August, 1861.

My dear Mrs. Howland: If you will send me the names of persons you want appointed to act as Chaplains for Hospitals, I will get the Lieutenant-General to give them (not a regular commission) but an authority to visit and have access to the Hospitals at all times. This will invest with full authority but no rank or emolument.

"Very truly yours,
"H. VAN RENSSELAER."[1]

Following this letter, Mrs. Howland wrote to Professor H. B. Smith of the Union Theological Seminary in New York City, asking him to suggest the right man; he recommended Mr. Henry Hopkins, son of President Mark Hopkins of Williams College, who accepted the position and held it until May, 1864, when he was appointed chaplain

[1] Henry Van Rensselaer resigned from the United States Army soon after his graduation from West Point, and erected a fine mansion at Woodford, on the St. Lawrence River, west of Ogdensburg. During his residence in Northern New York he managed his large holdings of real estate, and took an active interest in public affairs having been elected in 1840 a Representative in Congress, the only Whig Representative ever chosen in that district. In the fifties, he sold his lands to settlers from New England and Great Britain, and removed to New York City. At the opening of the Civil War, he was appointed Colonel and Aide-de-Camp on the staff of Lieutenant-General Scott.

of the One Hundred and Twentieth New York, in which he served until the regiment was mustered out in June, 1865.

It would be difficult to overestimate the value of Chaplain Hopkins's service, or the embarrassments he encountered in performing his unselfish labors without actual rank. His success was wholly due to his good sense and native tact. Few could write reminiscences of that period which would be more interesting and valuable than those Chaplain Hopkins could give, and the incidents he might relate would bring to the present and coming generations lessons in practical humanity and in Christian charity. The experiences then gained were valuable in his preparation for a successful ministry in Kansas City, Missouri, and for his later labors as the President of Williams College, where he has maintained a standard worthy of the son of one of the most distinguished educators of his time.

The Sixteenth New York was more fortunate than many regiments in the character and qualifications of its medical officers; it was more favored than others, for it had a reserve force that was never failing. Mrs. Charles W. Woolsey had taken an active part in providing hospitals, in New York and elsewhere, with clothing and delicacies at the beginning of the war, and when her son-in-law, Joseph Howland, joined the Sixteenth as adjutant, the Woolsey family took the sick and wounded of the regiment under their especial care. When the Sixteenth went to the Peninsula, in April, 1862, Mrs. Howland and her sister came to the York River on a Hospital Transport and sent articles of special diet to the sick in the camps, and, after battles, they with the other ladies of the Sanitary Commission cared for the wounded as they were brought in from the front. It was a standing request of Mrs. Howland that she should be informed of the name and destination of every member of her husband's

regiment who was sent North for treatment, and she caused some person of her acquaintance to visit the hospital in which they were quartered to see that proper care was given them. The personal attention paid the sick on the Peninsula by Mrs. Howland was pleasantly recognized by First Lieutenant Royal Corbin in the following poem:

"In Camp on the Chickahominy, June 12, 1862.

"From old Saint Paul till now,
Of honorable women not a few
Have quit their golden ease, in love to do
The saintly works that Christ-like hearts pursue.

Such an one art thou, God's fair apostle,
Bearing His love in war's horrific train;
Thy blessed feet follow its ghastly pain
And misery and death, without disdain.

To one borne from the sullen battle's roar,
Dearer the greeting of thy gentle eyes,
When he aweary, torn and bleeding lies,
Than all the glory that the victors prize.

When peace shall come, and home shall smile again,
Ten thousand soldiers' hearts, in Northern climes,
Shall tell their little children, with their rhymes,
Of the sweet saint who blessed the old war times."

Nearly half the term of the regiment had expired before any of its members were killed or seriously wounded in action. At the battle of West Point, Virginia, May 7, 1862, as has been stated, Companies F and G lost six killed and ten wounded; five of the latter were seriously hurt, and four, Corporal James Cook, Company F, and Privates Thomas B. Chilton, Louis Perrin and Oliver Wells, Company G, were

permanently disabled and discharged from the army. I, with the four above named of the Sixteenth, and a number from other regiments of the Sixth Corps, was carried on board the steamer *Wilson Small*, the headquarters of the United States Sanitary Commission, on May 9, 1862.

The members of the Sanitary Commission, on duty on the *Wilson Small* during the time I was a patient, were as follows:

Mr. Frederick Law Olmstead, New York City, General Secretary of the Commission, in command; Mr. Frederick N. Knapp, Massachusetts, Assistant Secretary, second in command; Dr. Robert Ware, Boston, Massachusetts, Chief Surgeon; Drs. George Wheelock and David Haight, New York City, Assistant Surgeons; Mrs. Henry W. Bellows, New York City, wife of the President of the Commission; Mrs. George T. Strong, New York City, wife of the Treasurer of the Commission; Mrs. William Prescott Griffin, New York City; Mrs. Joseph Howland, Fishkill-on-Hudson, New York; Miss Georgeanna M. Woolsey, New York City; Miss Katharine Prescott Wormeley, Newport, Rhode Island; Mrs. John A. Balestier, New York City; Miss Helen L. Gilson, Chelsea, Massachusetts; Miss Mary Gardiner; Miss Harriet Douglas Whetten, New York City; and Miss Butler, New York City.

Corporal Cook's leg had been amputated before coming on the boat, but Oliver Wells's arms were still a subject of discussion between the surgeons. He had been shot through both elbows, and the opinion had been pretty generally concurred in that both arms should be taken off in order to save his life. Mrs. Howland decided the question, and Wells kept his arms and carried them to his grave, thirty-seven years later.

The writer's wound was less severe than at first appeared, and there is some comfort in reading Miss Wormeley's ref-

erence to it, and in finding an inch added to his stature, instead of, as is sometimes the case, two or three inches cut off. She says:

"Last evening we parted from all our poor fellows, except Captain Curtis, the extensive hero, who is said today to have a chance for life. He is said to measure six feet seven inches,—and I believe it, looking at him as he lies on a cot pieced out at the foot with two chairs."

Several of those taken on board the *Wilson Small* were reported mortally wounded, but only one died; those who lived owed their lives to the care received from these patriotic and devoted women.

While all the ladies of the Sanitary Commission gave attention to our wounded, those of the Sixteenth were the special care of Mrs. Howland and her sister. On the 16th of May, I, with William H. Bell of my company, whom Colonel Howland ordered to remain with me until I was put into a general hospital, were put on board the *Knickerbocker*, which was sent up the Potomac with three hundred sick, and myself the only one wounded; Miss Helen L. Gilson was placed in charge. She was possessed of a high order of executive ability and managed the small force at her disposal so effectively that, although every part of the steamer was filled with soldiers, with merely sufficient space for the attendants to pass through, good order was maintained, and a degree of comfort secured that was exceptional in all my experience on crowded Government transports. Miss Gilson had come on board the *Wilson Small* before I was transferred to the *Knickerbocker*, and was brought to my cot by Mrs. Howland, who presented me as a member of her husband's regiment and one to receive special care. On Saturday, the 17th of May, the *Knickerbocker* passed down the York River, and at sunset turned toward the Potomac. It was a rare even-

ing as we passed Gloucester Point and, entering the waters of Chesapeake Bay, left behind us the busy activities which enlivened the base of army supplies and its single line of communication. It was a cloudless sky, the moon was entering its third quarter, and the stars gave a soft light, so that no lamps were necessary except in the interior cabins; all was still but the laboring engine, the immense side wheels, and the occasional moan which escaped the lips of a sufferer in the crisis of a fever. At this time, when making the last round of inspection, before going to the cabin to be with those whose condition needed constant watching, Miss Gilson stopped at my cot and spoke encouragingly of the condition of her patients, saying they were about to receive such care in the hospitals to which they were going that in a short time they would be well and back at the front. Standing in the dim light of the moon and stars, she sang a sweet evening hymn, and then "America," renewing in the sick men their patriotic devotion to the land they had offered their lives to save. In later years I read the following tribute to this brave woman, whose life was a benediction to thousands whom she nursed in military camps and hospitals. It is reproduced from *Hospital Life in the Army of the Potomac*, by William Howell Reed.

"One afternoon, just before the evacuation, when the atmosphere of our rooms was close and foul, and all were longing for a breath of our cooler Northern air, while the men were moaning with pain, or were restless with fever, and our hearts were sick with pity for the sufferers, I heard a light step upon the stairs; and looking up I saw a young lady enter, who brought with her such an atmosphere of calm and cheerful courage, so much freshness, such an expression of gentle, womanly sympathy, that her mere presence seemed to revive the drooping spirits of the men, and to give a new power of endurance through the long and painful hours of suffering. First with one, then at the side of another,

a friendly word here, a gentle nod and smile there, a tender sympathy with each prostrate sufferer, a sympathy which could read in his eyes his longing for home love, and for the presence of some one—in these few minutes hers was indeed an angel ministry. Before she left the room she sang to them, first some stirring national melody, then some sweet or plaintive hymn to strengthen the fainting heart; and I remember how the notes penetrated to every part of the building. Soldiers with less severe wounds, from the rooms above, began to crowd out into the entries, and men from below crept up on their hands and knees to catch every note, and to receive the benediction of her presence—for such it was to them. Then she went away. I did not know who she was, but I was as much moved and melted as any soldier of them all. This is my first reminiscence of Helen L. Gilson."

I had requested to be sent to Fairfax Street Hospital that I might be cared for by Dr. James Robertson; so when the *Knickerbocker* reached Alexandria, I was carried to the dock on my cot, and the steamer proceeded to Washington where all the others were placed in hospitals. My attendant sent a note to Dr. James Robertson, notifying him that I was on the dock; he came with stretcher-bearers and I was carried to his hospital and my wound dressed.

The Fairfax Street Hospital had been designated to receive enlisted men, and the admittance of an officer was a violation of regulations which no one but Surgeon Sumner, who was in charge of the Alexandria hospitals, could suspend. Dr. Robertson's difficulties, growing out of his kindness to me, are stated in a letter to Mrs. Howland, in reply to one asking to be informed of my progress:

"Fairfax Street Hospital, Alexandria, Virginia.
"May 23, 1862.

"Dear Madam:—

"I today received your feeling letter. Sunday morning at six o'clock, I was informed that my good friend Captain Cur-

tis had arrived on a steamer. I immediately went to the dock and had him taken to my hospital and put into my own room. During last winter an order was issued by the surgeon-general not to admit any officers into the wards of my hospital. For fear that my superior officer, Dr. Sumner, would find fault, I immediately wrote him a polite note, stating that my friend, a gallant officer who was shot through the chest at West Point battle, had arrived and that I had taken him to my hospital—that he was in a private room,—and hoped he would not consider it a violation of the order. He immediately sent for me, and told me I must take Captain Curtis to a private room in the city and wait upon him there. I replied that I could not see the propriety of such an order, that the case was a dangerous one and secondary hemorrhage might occur at any time, but, if he insisted, I would obey his command.

"I left his presence so indignant that I thought I would directly resign and take my friend to some comfortable place and attend to him until he recovered. Dr. Sumner followed and overtook me before I reached my hospital, and said he would look at the room. Fearing he might say something to the captain, which on account of his weak condition might excite him, I said 'Dr., whatever you have to say in the matter, say it to me.' The result of the visit was, that I was allowed to keep the captain in my own room where he has since been.

"It would give me great pleasure to have a ward or two reserved for officers, and, as you have frequently been in this house since I took charge eight months ago, you know it is a very pleasant little house.

"It would surprise you to see how our friend has improved. I have used compression, and to-day hardly a drop of matter has discharged. The captain has been walking about his room all day and talks of having a carriage to-morrow and taking a drive. He has a fine appetite and has lost all that haggard look he had when he came here. He is lively and jovial as ever, can get out of bed and walk without staggering. You can, therefore, inform your husband (whom the captain really adores and is constantly telling how very kind you have both been to him),

that he has ordered a new uniform and will be back to head his company again in two or three weeks.

"I am, with greatest respect,

"Your most obedient servant,

"JAMES ROBERTSON."

While I had heard of Chaplain Hopkins's visits to the different hospitals in which members of the Sixteenth were patients, it was not until I entered Dr. Robertson's hospital that I fell under his watchful care. He came at the request of Mrs. Howland to ascertain my condition and to see that I was receiving proper attention. He had obtained an exaggerated opinion of the severity of my wound, for he said, "Captain Curtis, I am sure that the Lord has some great work for you to perform, else he would not have preserved your life when you were so seriously wounded." I greatly fear that my reply was not in keeping with his dignified bearing and solemn words, for I answered in a cheerful tone, "Chaplain, I am inclined to the opinion that the Lord will not call upon me to undertake the service you suggest, until after sixty days have passed." A broad smile lighted his countenance and he replied, "I like your buoyant spirit, and hope that you may ever be able to look on the bright side of life."

All of Mrs. Woolsey's family, her daughters, her only son, and her sons-in-law were enlisted in the field or hospital service. Mrs. Robert S. Howland wrote many beautiful poems which were eagerly read in the camps and hospitals throughout the war. Chief among them were "A Message from the Army," "A Rainy Day in Camp," "In the Hospital," and "Mortally Wounded." The last is reproduced as a faithful picture of a not uncommon incident in our army experience, and to correct an error into which several writers of wartime events and its literature have fallen, in ascribing

this poem to others than Mrs. Howland. One attributed it to an officer who is said to have dictated it just before his death, and others have credited it to nameless soldiers and army chaplains.

"MORTALLY WOUNDED"

I lay me down to sleep,
With little thought or care
Whether my waking find
Me here—or THERE!

A bowing, burdened head,
Only too glad to rest,
Unquestioning, upon
A Loving breast.

My good right hand forgets
Her cunning now;
To march the weary march
I know not how.

I am not eager, bold,
Nor strong,—all that is past!
I am willing *not to do*,
At last, at last!

My half-day's work is done,
And this is all my part:
I give a patient God
My patient heart;

And grasp His banner still,
Though all its blue be dim;
These stripes, no less than stars,
Lead after Him.

Weak, weary and uncrowned,
I yet *to bear* am strong;
Content not even to cry
"How long! How long!"

Women nurses, during our Civil War, were pioneers in a new field in our military policy. The Government had authorized their work, but the army surgeons were reluctant to have them employed and, in many cases, made their lives as unbearable as possible, that they might be forced in self-defense to leave the hospitals. Delicate, refined, and cultured women were often directed to perform the hardest and most menial labor, to subsist upon poor fare, and to rest at night upon wretched beds; yet they endured these annoyances for the double purpose of making more comfortable the sick and the dying soldiers, and to win a standing place for others to carry forward their beneficent work. Their persistence was crowned with the full acknowledgment of the importance and of the essential need of women nurses in hospitals.

It must not be believed that all volunteers to do hospital duty were useful workers, for "professional philanthropists" put in their appearance also, and disturbed by their presence the labors of the patient and efficient surgeons and nurses. Not all of this class were as easily deterred from burdening those at the front with their professional sympathy, as the one referred to by Mrs. Woolsey, in a letter to her daughters on the York River:

"Miss H. and a lady friend were ushered in upon me this morning, the latter wishing to know *all* the particulars about the position of lady nurses down at Yorktown, and what was particularly required of them, as she had started from home with a 'strong impulse' to offer her services. All that I could tell her was that 'a desire to be useful, plain common sense,

energetic action, fortitude, and a working apron were some of the absolute essentials;—not to be a looker-on, but a doer—to take hold with a good will and a kind heart.' She left with a feeling that perhaps she could be quite as useful without going to Yorktown; I have no doubt she can."

The other, and far more troublesome and objectionable, class, was generally regarded with the feelings expressed by Dr. Tripler, to one of the Sanitary Commission;

"I am pestered by volunteer surgeons, who leave their business at home to have a short holiday professional excursion, and who always expect to be put in the 'imminent deadly breach' at once. I have not tents, horses, forage, or table-room for them."

The one to whom this statement was made writes to a friend in New York:

"Don't let any more surgeons come here, if you can help it. We try to treat them civilly, but all, ashore and afloat, feel anything but civilly to a man when he graciously proposes to be entertained and sent to the front as an honored guest, because, you understand, he is not one of your 'physicians' but a 'surgeon,' and not at all unwilling to take an interesting gunshot case in hand, though everybody declines it. If there is anything the regimental surgeons hate, it is to let these magnanimous surgical pretenders (it is of the pretenders I speak) get hold of their pet cases."

The recent reorganization of the American Red Cross Society gives promise for the future, of an organization which will utilize and turn into proper channels the efforts of earnest and patriotic citizens, and at the same time will relieve the Medical Department, to a great extent, of the disturbing interference of meddlesome busybodies of the kinds above described. This organization will, it is hoped, do much in

future wars to assist and supplement the military medical establishment, both as to supplies and trained personnel for the administration of hospitals.

I find no better words, with which to close this chapter, than those of the Reverend Sidney G. Osborne of England, who visited the hospitals at Scutari, where many British officers and soldiers were sent for treatment in the Crimean War.

"The hospital is only, after all, a part of the battle-field; it is a crowd of those who have fought, and who, fighting, have, through wounds or weakness, had to fall back from active service to passive suffering. They are still, as it were, in the ranks; still on duty to recover, to return, to die, or to be invalided at home.

"If death does come to them on their beds, it is still a soldier's death; a letter or two may be dictated to a friend; some message sent to a brother officer; a quick, calm, distribution of effects at hand made; gratitude expressed to those who so kindly ever support their brother soldiers in those moments; these, with the brief services the chaplain can offer, form the chief features of the last scene in the lives of these men. It is a battle-field death, just postponed until the victim has joined the hospital ranks."

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE SIXTH CORPS

THE Sixteenth New York was the senior regiment of Franklin's division, and of the Sixth Corps. Soon after it was mustered out of service, the One Hundred and Sixth regiment, also raised in Northern New York, was assigned to that corps and continued with it until the close of the war. The people of that section have always felt a great interest and pride in the magnificent record made by the Sixth Corps, and in those feelings of appreciation I heartily share. In nearly five years of army life I served in seven corps, and for each entertain warm feelings of attachment, particularly for the Tenth and the Twenty-fourth; but I cannot recall my experience in the Sixteenth regiment and the Sixth Corps without expressing my grateful acknowledgment for the instruction there received in the science and art of war from my superior officers. To General Franklin and to General Slocum, I feel indebted for my first promotion, and to General W. F. Smith, for my first assignment to the command of a brigade. These facts will justify the following references to the commanding officers and to the unsurpassed record of the Sixth Corps.

The official reports contain no reference to brigade commanders, more generous and just than that of General William H. T. Brooks, in his report of the battle of Salem Heights:

"Whatever of excellence this division may possess, I beg leave to attribute to the manner in which the respective brigades have been commanded."

General Brooks, whom his soldiers affectionately called "Bully Brooks," was a man as modest and devoid of self-seeking as he was conspicuous for skill and personal bravery in action; hence his endorsement carried all the praise the words indicated, and will be used as an introduction to brief notices of prominent officers of the Sixth Corps.

General William B. Franklin, in September, 1861, was placed in command of a division consisting of three brigades. In May, 1862, at White House, Virginia, General William F. Smith's division of three brigades was joined with his, and formed the Sixth Corps, which Franklin commanded until General Burnside organized the "Grand Divisions," when he was assigned to the command of the "Left Grand Division," and continued to command it until he was relieved from duty in the Army of the Potomac, in January, 1863. General Franklin was an officer of great ability, standing among those of the first rank in the army. He served throughout the war as a subordinate, where his commanding abilities and usefulness were minimized by the fact that, except when under General McClellan, he was the superior in capacity and military skill of every commander to whom he reported. General Grant, on assuming command of the armies, desired to give him an important command, but his wishes were denied by Secretary of War Stanton. General Grant knew his old classmate at West Point, his fibre, and his great abilities.

General Philip Kearny, the commander of Franklin's First Brigade, was the first to rise to the command of a division, which, on the organization of corps, became a division in the Third Corps; and had he not early been killed in action, he would doubtless have been given command of a corps, and probably of an army.

General Henry W. Slocum, the commander of Franklin's Second Brigade, rose to the command of the First Division,

on Franklin's promotion to the command of the corps; and subsequently to the command of the Twelfth Corps, the Twentieth Corps, the Army of Georgia, and the "Left Wing" of Sherman's consolidated armies, on the march to the sea. General Slocum's record was exceptional; the confidence of the authorities in his capacity increased with every step he advanced in command, for they found that he possessed the essential qualities of a great commander.

General John Newton, the commander of the Third brigade of Franklin's division, rose to the command of the Third Division of the Sixth Corps, and the command of the First Corps. Major-General John Newton shared with Major-General George H. Thomas the marked distinction of rendering invaluable service to the Union cause, although born and bred a Virginian.

General William F. Smith (called "Baldy", his West Point sobriquet, by his intimates), on joining the Sixth Corps, commanded a division of three brigades, which became the Second Division.

General W. S. Hancock, commander of the First brigade, won at Williamsburg, Virginia, his title of "Superb," which he carried in all his later battles in the Sixth, and in command of the Second Corps.

General William H. T. Brooks commanded the Second Brigade, the Vermonters whom General Smith had organized; rose to the command of the First Division, Sixth Corps; a division in the Eighteenth Corps; and to the temporary command of the corps.

General John W. Davidson, commander of the Third brigade, won distinction in the corps, and, later, in commanding a cavalry division in the Western armies.

General William F. Smith, at the battle of Williamsburg, pointed out to General Sumner, the officer in command, the weak place in the enemy's line and asked to be permitted

to advance his division to occupy it; the request was denied. When he finally got Hancock's brigade forward, although once halted and once directed to retire, its operations were attended with such favorable results that there is no doubt that, had General Smith's plans been carried out, and Hancock supported as he could have been, the battle would have ended in an overwhelming victory. Johnston's army could not have marched up the peninsula in order, and General Hooker would have had no occasion for using the stinging words:

"History will not be believed, when it is told that the noble officers and men of my division were permitted to carry on this unequal struggle from morning until night unaided, in the presence of more than thirty thousand of their comrades with arms in their hands. Nevertheless, it is true."

General Smith rose to the command of the Sixth Corps; was transferred to the Ninth Corps; assigned to the command of raw troops in Pennsylvania during the Gettysburg campaign; then to duty in West Virginia; and, in the fall of 1863, was made Chief Engineer of the Department and Army of the Cumberland, on the staff of General Rosecrans. It was here that he had an opportunity to prove that he was a great engineer, an able strategist, and a successful tactician, and entitled to be classed as one of the great commanders. He was credited, by officers whose opinions are entitled to the fullest consideration, with having saved the Army of the Cumberland from starvation and capture. The claim for such great service as this needs to be supported by the best of evidence; it is furnished by Major-General James H. Wilson, Inspector-General on General Grant's staff during the period referred to, in *A Sketch of the Life and Service of Major-General William*

Farrar Smith, United States Volunteers. This sketch is a most interesting and valuable contribution to our war literature; its one fault is that it is not on public sale. From it I quote:—

"The separate departments in the Mississippi Valley were consolidated into a grand military division, under the supreme command of General Grant, and what turned out to be of almost equal importance was the fact that Brigadier-General William F. Smith was assigned at once to duty as Chief Engineer of the Department and Army of the Cumberland. Fortunately, this gave him the control, not only of the engineer troops and materials and the engineer operations of that army, but carried with it the right and duty of knowing the army's requirements and condition, as well as all the plans which might be considered for extricating it from the extraordinary perils and difficulties which surrounded it. . . .

"Every general in the Army of the Cumberland knew that it needed and must have supplies, and that the only way to get them, without falling back, was to open and keep open the direct road or 'cracker line' to Bridgeport. But how and when this was to be done, was the question. General Smith in consultation with his superiors worked out the plan as to how, when, and by what means the short supply line by the way of Brown's Ferry and the Lookout Valley should be opened and maintained. He certainly secured its adoption, first by Thomas and afterwards by Grant, and, finally, when he had arranged all the details of the complicated and delicate operations, and had prepared all the engineer's materials and pontoons which were required, he personally commanded the troops and carried that part of the plan which was based on Chattanooga to a successful conclusion.

"Grant made haste to attach him to his own staff, and to recommend him for promotion to the grade of major-general to rank from the date of original appointment, declaring in support of his recommendation, that he felt 'under more than ordinary obligation for the masterly manner in which he had discharged the duties of his position;' adding: 'He is possessed of one of the

clearest military heads in the army, is very practical and industrious,' and emphasized it all with the highest eulogistic declaration, that 'no man in the army is better qualified than he for the largest military command.'

"General George H. Thomas, the soul of honor and fair dealings, on the 20th of November, 1863, although General Smith had already been transferred from his own to the staff of General Grant, formally recommended him for promotion in the following striking and comprehensive words: 'For industry and energy displayed by him from the time of his reporting for duty at these headquarters, in organizing the Engineer Department, and for his skilful execution of the movements at Brown's Ferry, Tennessee, on the night of October 26, 1863, in surprising the enemy and throwing a pontoon bridge across the Tennessee River at that point, a vitally important service necessary to the opening of communication between Bridgeport and Chattanooga.' Later, in his official report, he said: 'To Brigadier-General William F. Smith, Chief Engineer, should be accorded great praise for the ingenuity which conceived, and the ability which executed the movements at Brown's Ferry.'

"General Sherman bears 'willing testimony to the completeness of this whole business. All the officers charged with the work were present and manifested a skill which I cannot praise too highly. I have never beheld any work done so quietly, so well, and I doubt if the history of war can show a bridge of 1350 feet laid down so noiselessly and well in so short a time. I attribute it to the genius and intelligence of General William F. Smith.'

"Shortly afterwards, Grant asked for Smith's assignment to the command of East Tennessee, to succeed the luckless Burnside, with whom he was dissatisfied, but in so doing he intimated that it would be agreeable to him if the government should, in pursuance of a personal suggestion sent to the War Department about the same time by Mr. Charles A. Dana, Assistant Secretary of War, give General Smith even a higher command. It is now well known that Grant had in mind the command of the Army of the Potomac, and not only then, but frequently after-

wards, assured General Smith of his support for that great and responsible position."

Following General William F. Smith in command of the Sixth Corps, came General John Sedgwick, who declined the offer to be placed at the head of the Army of the Potomac, and remained with the corps until killed in action at Spotsylvania, on May 9, 1864, on the firing line, having won the respect and affection of his associates and subordinates as few men were able to do. He was succeeded by General Horatio G. Wright, who commanded the corps until it was disbanded in June, 1865. During General Wright's command of the Sixth Corps he saved the capital from capture by General Early, and fought within the city limits under the eye of the President. Later, when the Army of the Shenandoah was surprised in its camp at Cedar Creek, October 19, 1864, General Wright with the Sixth Corps checked the retreat, and his successful efforts to restore order brought the army into condition for the advance which was pressed on the return of General Sheridan.

The Sixth Corps' four commanders ranked with the ablest soldiers produced by the war. Of the brigade commanders, who started out with the corps, four rose to the command of corps, one to that of an army and others to the command of divisions. Lieutenant Emory Upton, Fifth Artillery, won great credit in commanding a brigade in the Sixth Corps in the "Wilderness Campaign," and, later, when in command of a division of General James H. Wilson's Cavalry Corps, operating in the Gulf States; and, as a writer on the science and art of war, attained an eminence second to no soldier of his age.

Of the three brigade commanders so highly commended by General Brooks, quoted in the early part of this chapter, Alfred T. A. Torbert rose to the command of a division of

cavalry; Joseph J. Bartlett rose to the command of a division in the Fifth Corps; and David A. Russell rose to the command of the First Division of the Sixth Corps.

The history of ancient knighthood contains no more interesting incident than that of the knight who asked that his armor be brought, that he might wear it sitting upright while he awaited death, the one enemy whom he had never vanquished. That incident showed less of heroic valor than the closing scene in the life of General David A. Russell. Riding with his staff to the firing-line in the battle of Winchester, Virginia, September 19, 1864, where his advanced brigade was sharply engaged with the enemy, his chief medical officer, seeing him struck with a rifle ball, asked him to dismount that he might ascertain the character of his wound and give it proper attention. The General replied, "That is not necessary, Doctor, the wound is a settler, but I will not dismount so long as I can sit on my horse and direct the operations." Soon after, a cannon shot struck his breast and hurled his lifeless and broken body from his horse. No more striking or heroic conduct in fierce contests for the public weal is recorded in the annals of war.

Colonel Daniel D. Bidwell, Colonel Forty-ninth New York, promoted to be brigadier-general and to the command of a brigade, was killed in the battle of Cedar Creek, Virginia, October 19, 1864, while commanding with conspicuous gallantry. Colonel Hiram Burnham, Sixth Maine, commanded the Light Division at Salem Heights, Virginia, was promoted brigadier-general and to the command of a brigade in the Eighteenth Corps, and was killed in action, September 30, 1864, vigorously pressing the enemy. Colonel Alexander Shaler, Sixty-fifth New York, was promoted brigadier-general and to the command of a brigade, breveted major-general for gallant and meritorious conduct at Marye's Heights, Virginia, and was awarded a Congressional

Medal of Honor for advancing at a critical moment and turning the enemy's flanks. Colonel N. J. Jackson, Fifth Maine, was promoted a brigadier-general, placed in command of a brigade and breveted major-general for gallant and meritorious services. Colonel Amasa Cobb, Fifth Wisconsin, commanded his regiment with marked ability at Williamsburg, and Golden's Farm, Virginia, and at Antietam, Maryland, for which he was breveted a brigadier-general. Resigning in December, 1862, he again entered the service as colonel of the Forty-third Wisconsin and remained to the close of the war. Subsequently, he attained great distinction as a jurist, and was for many years Chief Justice of Nebraska.

No member of the Sixth Corps has attained higher position in civil life than Redfield Proctor, who entered the service as quartermaster of the Third Vermont, rose to be major of the Fifth Vermont, colonel of the Fifteenth Vermont, one of the regiments of the famous Vermont brigade which, under General Stannard, did such effective work in checking the memorable charge of Pickett at Gettysburg; Governor of Vermont; Secretary of War; United States Senator; and was the first American statesman to raise his voice against the horrors of Spanish rule in Cuba, and to urge a declaration of war with Spain, which resulted in expelling her from the Western Continent and the Islands of the far Eastern Seas.

Colonel Calvin E. Pratt,[1] Thirty-first New York, was pro-

[1] In the Presidential campaign of 1880, a large number of influential members of the Democratic Party, united in bringing the name of General Calvin E. Pratt before the convention called to select a candidate to head the ticket, and great progress was being made in winning the support of delegates for his nomination, when it was quietly stated that General Pratt was a member of the Roman Catholic church. A self-appointed committee waited on him to request him to deny the charge and to stand forth as a Protestant. The committee said to him, "It is recognized that you are an attendant of a Protestant church, but is stated that you have been baptised by a priest of

moted Brigadier-General, commanded the Light Division, and resigned on account of wounds received in the battle of Gaines's Mill, Virginia. He carried an ounce ball, received in that battle, under his left cheek near the base of his skull for thirty years, discharging the duties of a Justice of the Supreme Court, in the meantime, in a manner to win the distinction of a learned and upright judge. Many other field and line officers were promoted to be general officers, and commanded acceptably brigades and divisions in different corps of the army.

The staff departments of the Sixth Corps were filled by men of ability. Brevet Major-General Martin T. McMahon, Adjutant-General and Chief of Staff, a volunteer who served from the organization of the corps to its muster out, except for the time he was Adjutant-General of the

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the Roman Catholic church, and unless you deny the charge, and confess your adhesion to the Protestant faith, your nomination is impossible. With such confession the way is clear for your nomination as the candidate of the party for the Presidency."

His answer was no surprise to those who knew him as a brave soldier, an upright judge, a broad minded and irreproachable man. He turned to the spokesman and said, "I will neither affirm nor deny the charge that I am a Roman Catholic. I will say that I have been informed, by reputable persons who were present, that, when, under the impression conveyed to Chaplain Francis McAtee, by the medical officers in attendance that I was about to die from wounds received in action, he administered to me the sacred rites of baptism and absolution which priests of his church administered to those regarded worthy, when approaching death. That I should repudiate or cast a reproach on the action of that pious priest is an impossibility. I have carried in my head for eighteen years the ball which produced the prostration which was thought, by all then present, a premonition of death, and may carry it to my grave, but I assure you I would not by word or action discountenance the act of my faithful chaplain, if in so doing it would dislodge this tormenting ball or place me in the highest office in the gift of the people for whose national existence I stood when disabled. No sir, I cannot be made an instrument for bigotry." Soon after, the tide was turned toward General Hancock, and his nomination was secured without profession of adhesion to any particular religious sect.

Left Grand Division under Franklin, is the one man best able to write the history of the corps. Since the war, he has filled important posts in the diplomatic service, in legislative bodies and the courts of justice, and for years has been President of the Board of Managers of the National Home for Disabled Volunteers. The chiefs of artillery attained marked distinction in the corps, and higher rank in other corps; Captain Richard Arnold, Fifth Artillery, as a general officer in command of a division in the southeast, Captain R. B. Ayres, Fifth Artillery, as a general officer in command of a division in the Fifth Corps, Captain E. R. Platt, Second Artillery, and Colonel Charles H. Tompkins, Rhode Island Artillery, as Chiefs of Artillery of the corps in many important engagements. Of the Medical Department, Surgeon Charles O'Leary, Medical Director, Surgeons Frank Hamilton, George T. Stevens, and Julius Hausen attained international reputation as men of high rank in their profession. In the Commissary Department, Colonels S. H. Sturdevant and J. K. Scofield were most efficient officers. In the Quartermaster's Department, Colonel W. R. Hopkins, Colonel C. W. Tolles, and Major W. H. Daniels who entered the service as corporal in the Sixteenth, were among the most capable in the service. It is impossible to name all the meritorious members of that deserving corps, and the writer has confined his comments to those he knew personally.

The Vermont Brigade of the Second Division lost more in killed and mortally wounded than any other brigade in the war. Of the divisions whose valor was shown at the greatest cost in a single battle, Getty's, the Second of the Sixth Corps, comes first, a close second to the division which lost the greatest number throughout the war, Hancock's, the First Division of the Second Corps.

The "Three hundred fighting regiments," reported by

Colonel Fox as sustaining the heaviest losses of killed and mortally wounded during the war, were distributed through twenty-one corps, of which number the Second Corps had forty-three, and the Sixth Corps thirty-four regiments. In this list of three hundred, one two-years' regiment appears, the Fifth New York; yet the losses in killed and mortally wounded sustained by the Sixteenth New York, during substantially one year's fighting, equalled the losses sustained in four of the three hundred regiments, and exceeded the losses in fifty-nine of the regiments classed with the "Fighting Three Hundred." These facts were disclosed by the Confederate and the General Hospital records, only accessible after the publication of Colonel Fox's valuable book. The Sixth Corps lost in killed and wounded, in its term of service, nearly fifty per cent. more officers and men than it ever took into a single action. This is stated with no invidious spirit, but to bring out the fact that the corps was often put into positions of great peril, and that it bore itself throughout with fortitude and valor, such as to exemplify the qualities of the men who marched and fought in the Army of the Potomac. Colonel Fox says:

"The history of the Sixth Corps, more than any other, is replete with fascinating interest. Its record is invested with more of the romance and brilliancy of war. There was the successful assaults of Marye's Heights; the brilliant dash into the rifle pits at Rappahannock Station; the deadly hand-to-hand fighting in the gloomy thickets at Spotsylvania; the breathless interest which attaches to their lone fight at Fort Stevens, where, under the eye of the President, they saved the National Capital from the hand of the invader; the victories in the valley, with the dramatic incident at Cedar Creek; and the crowning success at the storming of Petersburg. Over all these scenes the Greek Cross waved proudly on the banners of the corps, while its veteran legions wrought deeds which linked that badge with an unfading glory and renown."

CHAPTER XXIX

THE MUSTER OUT OF THE SIXTEENTH

ON the 8th of May, 1863, the Sixth Corps left the position north of Banks's Ford, to which it had withdrawn after the battle of Salem Heights, and returned to its old camp at White Oak Church. The Sixteenth was directed to prepare for muster out of service, and the officers began to make out the descriptive lists of those who were not entitled to be mustered out with the two years' men. All the men who had enlisted between the muster in of the regiment and the close of 1861, except the recruits in Company I, were mustered for the unexpired term of the regiment; those of Company I were mustered for two years; the recruits of 1862 were all mustered for a term of three years. The number of those not entitled to be mustered out was one hundred and twenty-six, and they were notified that they could select the organizations in which they preferred to complete their term of service. These men selected the First Massachusetts Battery, Battery D, Second United States Artillery, and the One Hundred and Twenty-first New York regiment. Unfortunately, the promise made to the men was not kept, for, a few days after the Sixteenth left for home, the whole number was ordered to report to the One Hundred and Twenty-first New York, and was distributed among the companies of that regiment. While a majority had selected the One Hundred and Twenty-first, all were indignant at this treatment, but, with the ex-

ception of four, all forgave the deception and entered upon duty with earnest zeal. The four, whose dissatisfaction was not to be overcome, either enlisted in other organizations or deserted from the service.

On Sunday, the 10th of May, the members received their friends and made farewell calls upon those with whom they had marched and fought since September, 1861, and, at their last evening parade in Virginia, received the congratulatory orders of their commanders, extracts from which are reproduced:

From Major-General John Sedgwick's order:

"The general commanding the corps congratulates the officers and men of the Regiment upon the honorable termination of their period of duty. They have deserved well of the Republic upon many battle-fields and in many tiresome marches. Through all the vicissitudes of their two years' service they have preserved for their regiment an unblemished record."

From Brigadier-General W. T. H. Brooks's order:

"The Division Commander is happy to add his testimony to the good character of the officers and men of the Sixteenth New York Volunteers, whose term of service is about to expire. Their gallant conduct throughout the late campaign, and especially in the battle near Salem Church, excited his unbounded admiration."

From Brigadier-General J. J. Bartlett's order:

"During the past year the Sixteenth New York Volunteers has been under the Brigade Commander's immediate notice. They have nobly borne their part of every hardship and privation which the command has endured. On the battle-fields of West Point, Gaines's Mill, Charles City Cross Roads, Crampton's Pass, and Antietam, they showed themselves brave and gallant

soldiers, ever ready to do battle for their country, and resisting to the last the onset of their country's foes. In this last terrible campaign they have shown their gallantry and devotion anew, and won the commendation and thanks of all their commanding officers."

The comradeship of Bartlett's brigade is well indicated by an extract from Lieutenant George W. Bicknell's *History of the Fifth Maine:*

"On the eleventh of May, the noble and gallant Sixteenth New York Regiment, whose term of service had expired, bade farewell to the brigade, and turned their footsteps homeward. Side by side, the Fifth Maine and Sixteenth New York had fought in many hard contests, until they seemed bound together by the strongest ties. It seemed hard to give them up, yet who could ask men who had rendered such noble service to remain longer? Who of the Fifth does not remember the Sixteenth at Gaines's Mill, when their line moved so gallantly over the crest of the hill and charged down upon the enemy — their straw-hats, the gift of their intrepid colonel, making their line particularly conspicuous?

"Scarcely had the Sixteenth gone, when the Twenty-seventh New York, another regiment which had been banded with us from the early days of our brigade existence, was discharged by reason of the expiration of their term of service, and the old Fifth seemed almost alone.

"Like the Sixteenth, the Twenty-seventh had long been by our side; and strong friendships had sprung up between the two commands. Ever will the Fifth Maine boy remember the Sixteenth and the Twenty-seventh New York with feelings of affection, and also can he point with pride to them as part of the noble Bartlett's brigade in the first two years of military service."

As the time drew near for the discharge of the Sixteenth, there was a strong and universal feeling that some action

should be taken to express to Colonel and Mrs. Howland the admiration, respect, and affectionate regard in which each was held by the individual members of the regiment. The officers and men were proud of their record, and felt that Colonel Howland's gallant and skilful leadership in their first important battle had gained for them the respect of their associates, and the high consideration of their superiors; they were grateful to him for his large expenditures in procuring for them articles of prime importance not provided by the Government, and to Mrs. Howland, for her constant watchfulness of, and careful attention to, the sick and wounded. This sentiment took form in mementoes which illustrated the valor of one and the devotion of the other; the warrior's weapon, and the Book, in which are found the lessons taught by Him whose coming blessed the suffering and healed the sick.

The correspondence detailing this interesting incident in the regiment's history is reproduced:

"Headquarters Sixteenth New York Volunteers,
"Camp near White Oak Church, Virginia.
"April 25, 1863.

"Colonel Joseph Howland,

"*Dear Sir:*—The officers of the Sixteenth Regiment, New York Volunteers, desire to present you with the accompanying sword, as a testimonial of their appreciation of the gallantry and ability displayed by you while in command of the Regiment, in the Peninsular campaign.

"The enlisted men of the Regiment, feeling that Mrs. Howland has laid them under a deep debt of gratitude by her many contributions to their comfort, and her philanthropic labors in the hospitals, send the Bible for her acceptance.

"Very respectfully,
"W. B. Crandall,
"Pliny Moore,
"R. P. Wilson,—*Committee.*"

"Fishkill-on-Hudson, New York, 8 May, 1863.

"Surgeon W. B. Crandall,
"Captain Pliny Moore,
"Captain R. P. Wilson, Assistant Adjutant General,
"Committee Sixteenth Regiment, New York Volunteers.

"*Gentlemen:*—Mrs. Howland and myself have had the great pleasure of receiving the Bible presented by the enlisted men, and the sword by the officers of the Sixteenth Regiment, New York Volunteers, and your valued letter of the 25th ultimo, which accompanied them.

"It is impossible for either my wife or myself to express the feelings which these testimonials of the esteem and affection of the dear old Regiment have called forth. Beautiful and valuable in themselves as works of art of rare merit, they have priceless worth to us as evidence of the continued respect and kind feelings of men with whom it was an honor to serve, and whose appreciation and love always have been and will be treasured by us as of priceless value. We can simply say that we thank you from our hearts for your undeserved kindness.

"The glorious story of your gallantry during the late battles has reached us at the same time as the sad report of your heavy losses. We ask you to accept our congratulations upon the undying glory with which your noble career has crowned your name, and also our affectionate sympathy in your sufferings.

"Hoping soon to have an opportunity of meeting you, and my other comrades of the Sixteenth, on your return home,

"I am, Gentlemen,

"Very respectfully and truly yours,

"Joseph Howland."

"Fishkill-on-Hudson, New York, May 8, 1863.

"To the Enlisted Men of the
"Sixteenth Regiment, New York State Volunteers,

"*My Dear Friends:*—I find it an exceedingly difficult task to express to you the great pleasure and gratification with which I

have just received your exquisite gift. As a work of art it is unequalled in beauty and interest, and as a testimonial of your regard and affection it will always be of inestimable value to me; for, humbled as I feel by this generous return for the very little I was privileged to do for you from time to time, it is a source of great pleasure to me that the Regiment which I have so long looked upon with peculiar admiration and respect should in turn honor me with their affectionate regard.

"The record on the blank leaves of the Bible is for me as well a list of my friends as a roll of honor, and I need not tell you what a pleasant and sacred thing it is to me to have the names of so many of my brave countrymen associated with this Holy Book.

"You must let me congratulate you upon the new laurels you have just gained upon the Rappahannock, and also to express to you my sincere sympathy for those of you who are wounded, and for the friends of the noble dead.

"With renewed gratitude and regard,

"I remain,

"Your sincere friend,

"ELIZA WOOLSEY HOWLAND."

Early on the morning of May 11th, the Sixteenth marched from its winter camp at White Oak Church to Aquia Creek, and took the steamer for Washington; thence it proceeded north by cars, taking on the train detached men and convalescents at Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York City, and arrived at Albany at 6 A.M. on Thursday, the 14th day of May. The regiment was met at the railroad station by a committee of the Albany Fire Department and escorted to the Delavan House, where all did ample justice to the sumptuous breakfast, for it was two years since many of them had sat down to a well ordered table. The regiment was formally received at the arsenal at 11 o'clock, and then marched, under the escort of the fire department, through the prin-

cipal streets to the capitol, where Governor Seymour addressed them, as follows:

"Soldiers of the Sixteenth: With the close of this day will expire the two years for which your regiment was mustered into the United States service. Your thinned ranks are most eloquent witnesses that your duty, as soldiers of the Union, has been religiously discharged. When, on the 15th May, 1861, you were mustered into service, your regiment numbered eight hundred stalwart men. You went forth with your banners fresh and beautiful; you return with them worn and tattered, but more beautiful and sacred to us, from the perils and hardships through which they have been borne.

"I congratulate you upon your return to our State, and upon the prospect of your speedy reunion with friends at home. Many, who went out with you in vigor of manhood and health, have been denied this privilege. The records of the battles of West Point, Gaines's Mill, Crampton's Pass, Antietam, Fredericksburg, and Salem Heights will account for the five hundred missing soldiers. Their bones are crumbling upon the Peninsula and whitening the hills of the Blue Ridge. We welcome you, their comrades in arms, and in behalf of the people of the State, whom you have so honorably served, invoke the richest blessings of Providence upon you. We will place your torn banners amid others which have come to us from the battle-field, in the archives of the State, and cherish them as precious memorials.

"Soldiers: You are now about to return to your homes, in the northern part of the State. You will soon look forth upon the beautiful waters of Lake Champlain, and the rolling St. Lawrence, along whose different shores most of you reside.

"You will return to the duties of civil life, prepared, we trust, to discharge them with the same fidelity and honor you have manifested in the field.

"And now let me give you a kindly word of caution before bidding you farewell. You are about to enjoy that repose to which you are so justly entitled, and to receive a portion of that pay you have so hardly and honorably earned. Be prudent, be care-

ful, and do not let the designing or the unprincipled rob you of your money; keep it for the hour of sickness and for the aid of those near and dear to you.

"Again, as Governor of the State of New York, and Commander-in-Chief of its military forces, I thank you for your patriotic services."

To which Colonel Seaver replied, as follows:

"To your Excellency, and to the Mayor and Common Council of the City of Albany: I desire to express to you the thanks of this Regiment, for this cordial and enthusiastic welcome so unexpectedly extended to us. It is the more gratifying inasmuch as it was unexpected.

"I need not speak of the thinned ranks, of the trials and sufferings patiently borne, of the sickness, disease, and battles which have so reduced our numbers. These have all become familiar topics in the history of all armies. You have been pleased to allude to the services of this Regiment in flattering terms. I trust that those services have not been rendered in vain—that all these sufferings will not, under Providence, be allowed to pass for naught. The reception extended to us this day is a cheering indication that they will not. The enthusiasm of your citizens—old and young—shows clearly enough that the heart of the people is still beating to the true measure; that their devotion to the old flag is as deep and undying as it was when the storm of battle first broke upon Fort Sumter.

"I would to God that every soldier in our armies were here to-day to witness this enthusiasm. It would warm their hearts and nerve their arms to more powerful blows and to more glorious deeds. But, while this may not be, the spirit of the people can be imparted to them.

"Let it go forth from the Press, from the Executive Halls, till the armies of the Nation shall feel that there is but one people and one sentiment in all the loyal States, and that that people and that sentiment are with the Army, in favor of a speedy and honorable termination of this war, and the restoration of the power

of the Government of the United States over all that are now in Rebellion. This will be worth more than thousands of armed men, and will be most potent in influence.

"To your hands, Sir, I am pleased to deliver the colors of this Regiment, that they may be preserved in the archives of the State. They are beaten by storm, torn by many a hostile bullet, but, I believe, they have never been dishonored.

"Let them remain as a testimony to the brave men who have fallen in their defence, and to those who are so soon to return to their homes, sobered by discipline and chastened by much suffering."

Following these exercises, the regiment was marched to the barracks, where they were quartered until the officers turned in the arms, equipments and public property, and made out the rolls for their final muster and pay. During the time the regiment was preparing to be mustered out, Colonel and Mrs. Howland came to Albany and greeted the members with hearty congratulations for the honorable record they had made, encouraging them to return again to the service. Four days before the muster out of the regiment, Colonel Seaver delivered to each a copy of his farewell address:

'Headquarters Sixteenth New York Volunteers,
Albany, May 18, 1863.

To the Officers and Men of the Sixteenth New York Volunteers:

"As we are about to separate for our several homes, on the expiration of our term of service, I should do less than my duty if I failed to express to you my sincere gratitude for the promptness and alacrity with which you have obeyed all orders since I have had the honor to command the Regiment, my admiration of the patience with which you have endured every trial and fatigue, and the noble, self-sacrificing manner in which you have discharged every duty to your country.

"Among the first to enter the field at your country's call, yours has been no holiday work. Your thinned ranks and tattered banners speak, more eloquently than words, of long and honorable service. For this your country will honor you with her highest praise, and reward you with her profoundest gratitude—the richest legacies bequeathed by any nation to a soldier and a patriot.

"I need not speak of your noble deeds at Gaines's Mill, at Crampton's Pass, and at Salem Heights, in each of which engagements more than a quarter of your members fell. I need not allude to other fields where your presence was felt in the services you rendered. You have written your own record in noble patriotic blood, and no words of mine can add to the lustre of its pages. In all these services, in all these privations, in all these achievements, we have shared in common, and it is my highest pride that you have borne so patiently and achieved so well.

"When the relations that have so long and so pleasantly existed shall cease, and we lay aside the character of the soldier to assume that of the citizen, let us not forget any of the obligations we owe to our common Country; let us not, in the quiet of our homes, forget her danger and her need. The Government must be sustained; its old flag must be upheld until it shall again wave over every State represented on its azure field. Not a star shall fall, not a stripe shall fade. To this we should all be ready to 'pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.'

"I cannot part with you without expressing a desire to see many of you again enrolled in the reorganized ranks of the old Sixteenth. I wish to see its name and its number perpetuated by reorganization. Let it return to the field to deal more vigorous blows and to achieve fresh laurels and higher renown. The Government, in its need, demands your services; the blood of your slain comrades cries aloud for you to return; every memory of the past, every hope of the future should incite you to return. A few weeks of rest, the society of friends, and the pleasures of home will restore health, reinvigorate your worn systems, and, I trust, prepare your minds to engage again in a holy cause. Whether or not the old Sixteenth shall cease to have an existence depends upon you. But whatever you may determine to do in the future,

my best wishes will go with you all, and my fervent prayer shall ever be for your welfare.

"May God, in his healing mercy, soon restore to us all those who bear honorable wounds received in our late engagement, and give to the friends of those who have fallen in battle or perished by disease, strength to bear their bereavement.

"J. J. SEAVER,
"*Colonel Com'dg Reg't.*"

On Friday, the 22nd day of May, 1863, the members of the Sixteenth received their discharges and final pay, and proceeded, not in the well ordered ranks of their late marching, but singly and in small parties to their northern homes. A goodly number had fallen on the battle-fields, a lesser number had died of disease in camps and hospitals, and others, a greater number than those left dead, had been invalided by wounds and disease and sent to recuperate or die among their kindred. How many of each class, the roster will tell. The roster itself will perhaps interest none except those connected with the regiment, their relatives and friends, but the recapitulatory tables contain information of value to students of vital statistics, to legislators, and to others interested in recruiting military organizations. The age of the greatest military efficiency in actual warfare is the most important deduction from these tables.

The Sixteenth during its term of service had fought against great odds, and never but once did it sleep on the ground it had fought over. The regiment had never hesitated to advance against the enemy; had never retired from the firing line until ordered; and had never lost a flag, or a single gun of any battery it had been directed to support. It has sometimes been said that the men who volunteered on the first call of President Lincoln were almost wholly influenced by

a spirit of adventure, and had little of the spirit of patriotism. An answer to this thoughtless assertion is found in the fact that, within sixty days after the muster-out of the Sixteenth, six hundred and forty of its officers and men were enrolled in eighty-three organizations, and each one was mustered "to serve three years, or during the war."

CHAPTER XXX

MILITARY EFFICIENCY AND HOW TO PROMOTE IT

MEMBERS of the Sixteenth accounted for throughout the war, and for forty-four years and ten months from muster into the United States service, with comparisons, comments and suggestions, will make up this concluding chapter.

Mustered in May 15, 1861, 781 officers and enlisted men; joined by appointees and recruits 466; to be accounted for 1247. Average age at enlistment 25 years. Average height 5 feet $7\frac{7}{8}$ inches.

Efficients		*Inefficients*	
Killed in action	92	Died, disease	74
Mortally wounded	38	Discharged, disease	260
Discharged, wounds	76	Discharged	8
Promoted	9	Deserted	50
Transferred	126	Dropped	6
Mustered out	504	Resigned	4
	845		402
Total	1247		

Men who were killed, disabled by wounds, promoted to other organizations, transferred, or mustered out are classed as efficient. All who died or were discharged on account of disease were honorable men, but incapable of performing military duty; all others were unwilling to do the duty and asked for discharge, deserted, or were dropped. No deserters joined the enemy; of the deserters who enlisted in other regiments one-third were killed in action.

Of the whole number whose names were carried on the rolls of the regiment from one day to two years, 10.4 per cent. were killed or mortally wounded, and 29 per cent. of the remainder were wounded. The killed and mortally wounded in the New York Volunteers in the Civil War were 5.4 per cent.;[1] in the Union armies 4.7 per cent.;[2] in the Confederate armies over 9 per cent.[3] This difference was partly due to the fact that the Confederate armies were not required to protect their lines of communication and bases of supplies. At least one-third of the Union forces were employed in protecting communications and supplies. The number of killed and wounded in the New York Volunteers was 18.4 per cent. of enlistments; in the Sixteenth, the number was 36.96 per cent. of enlistments. The number captured in New York organizations was 6.8 per cent.; in the Sixteenth it was 4.8 per cent.; of the 60 men reported captured, 21 were not wounded; the other 39 were killed or wounded, and taken from the battle-fields or hospitals which fell into the hands of the enemy.

Of the thirty-eight two years regiments, the Fifth, Duryee's Zouaves, sustained the greatest loss in killed and mortally wounded, 10.9 per cent. of enlistments, and 15.7 per cent. were wounded and recovered. The Sixteenth came next with 10.4 per cent. killed and mortally wounded, but its wounded and recovered equalled 24.1 per cent. The Sixteenth sustained 99 per cent. of its total casualties in four battles. Four hundred and sixty-one men were killed or received wounds requiring surgical treatment, over fifty per cent. more than the average number of men taken to the firing line in its battles. Several received more than one

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[1] Colonel William F. Fox's *Regimental Losses in the Civil War.*
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*

wound in the same battle, but only one wound has been counted for each battle, while others have been credited with a wound received in every battle in which they fought.

In the European wars of the last sixty years, the losses in battle were less than half of the losses in our Civil War. Colonel Fox reports in his *Regimental Losses*, that, "The allied armies in the Crimean War lost in killed and mortally wounded 3.2 per cent.; the Austrians in the war of 1866 lost 2.6 per cent.; and the Germans in the Franco-Prussian war lost 3.2 per cent."

Of the six hundred and forty officers and men of the Sixteenth who continued in the army by promotion or transfer to other organizations, or re-enlisted after discharge from the regiment, 39 were killed in action, and 26 died of disease. From muster into the United States service to March 15, 1906, a period of forty-four years and ten months, 169 had been killed in battle, 100 had died of disease in the service 560 had died since discharge from the army, 3 were unaccounted for, and 415 were living; total 1247.

The common belief of those unacquainted with the real operations of our armies in the Civil War, that the number on the muster rolls and those reported "present for duty" on the morning returns approximated the number taken into action, is a mistaken one. Less than half of the number reported on the rolls, and not to exceed sixty per cent. of those reported for duty, were ever taken on to the firing line in any one battle. The men not taken into the battle proper might be on special detail, others overcome on the rapid march to position, and others guarding flanks or in reserve. All but the inefficient were useful, but not in a position to contribute to the main contests.

The qualities of an efficient soldier are physical and mental; of the former the essentials are perfect form, sound health, medium height, and youth; of the latter, the soldier

should have fair intelligence (the more the better) and the buoyant spirit of a well disposed and energetic youth. Fat is a burden and great height is disappointing. Of the members of the regiment who were six feet or more, ninety-nine per cent. taken into battle were killed or wounded; and of those of five feet and eleven inches ninety per cent. suffered in like manner. Of the members of the regiment, five or six were older than the age given on the descriptive list, and one-fifth of those stated to be eighteen were really one, two, or three years younger. Both classes were guilty of patriotic perjury, a crime which was readily excused by all lovers of their country.

I have examined the rolls of many regiments beside that of the Sixteenth, and am fully confirmed in the opinion that the age of greatest military efficiency is nineteen years; nevertheless it is fairly well maintained to twenty-five, and without serious loss to thirty, beyond which age no recruit should be enrolled in an organization intended for active campaigning. Men disciplined and trained in the military habit may render good service after thirty, but not those taken from civil life.

Entering the army on the first call of President Lincoln, and continuing until 1866, I had, in passing through the grades from captain to the rank of a major-general, exceptional opportunities to study the rank and file of many different military organizations. On entering the 52nd Congress, I renewed my acquaintance with many officers of the army with whom I had served in the Civil War, and in visiting their commands I discovered many things which I thought might well be changed. The old law, enacted in Washington's administration, making the minimum age of recruits eighteen and the maximum forty-five years, was still in force; there was no legislative bar to men of bad character, or to aliens, and no education was required. In former days,

it was not an infrequent practice for judges to sentence vagabonds and thieves to enlist in the Regular Army, or go to the penitentiary, as the accused might choose. I drew a bill which, after two years of earnest effort, became a law, limiting the term of enlistments, to three years, requiring recruits to be natives or naturalized citizens of the United States, of good character, under thirty years of age, and able to speak, read and write the English language. There were, at the time I introduced my bill, a dozen officers and a very large number of enlisted men in the army, who owed allegiance to foreign rulers. It was of importance to protect the army from vicious men, and to require all who served under the flag to acknowledge this country as their own.

I felt it was of great importance to reduce the maximum age of recruits. The principal reasons why a young man under twenty-two years makes a more efficient soldier in active campaign than one twenty-five or older are, first, the youth's greater recuperative powers; a well developed boy can march all day in a sleet storm, lie down at night on the wet ground, which perchance may freeze under him, and get up in the morning rested, and march on or go into battle, while a man of mature years may find it difficult to get up in the morning, and if he does rise he is not so well rested as the boy; second, the boy is more ready to accept suggestions as to the possibility of overcoming obstacles, and the enthusiasm and audacity of youth will cause him to enter on a difficult and hazardous undertaking with a confidence which a man of mature years cannot feel; third, the boy has seldom contracted marriage, and has none of the feelings of a man with a dependant family, and if the boy has in his mind one nearer than his mother, he will be more intent on performing an act that will tend to inspire her respect, than on saving himself at the expense of his reputation. Courage, vigor, audacity and self-confidence are the important quali-

fications of a soldier, and they are possessed to a greater degree by boys near the age of twenty than by men of middle life. At least one-quarter of the men enrolled in our army in the Civil War should never have been accepted, because of advanced years or physical disabilities, and quite that number never performed a day's active duty. Not only was the service injured by their presence in camp, but the industries and professions were depleted, while the hospital expenses and the pension rolls were increased to the same extent.

The enrolling of old and feeble men in our war was not the greatest error; but the formation of new regiments, before those in the field had been recruited to their maximum, was doubtless the greatest evil of our system for increasing the active forces. Recruits sent into old regiments were soon made efficient soldiers, were intelligently cared for, and consequently they suffered less from disease and exposure. Had one-half the number of men sent out in new regiments during the second, the third and the fourth years of the war been sent to old organizations in the field, the fighting force would have been greater and much more effective than it was.

The claim that it was necessary to organize new regiments to fill the calls for troops, because it increased the activity of men by holding out the prospect of appointments, calls up another subject which deserves consideration. Shall an army be raised by calling for volunteers or by ordering a draft? This country will never declare war without receiving the tender of more men fit to be made soldiers than can be equipped, but when men are required to fill the depleted ranks they must be gained by bounties or by a draft. Patriotic enthusiasm will be exhausted in filling the first call; at least the experience of the past confirms this statement. Bounties tend to chill patriotism, debase manhood and lead to extravagance and peculation. A draft recognizes the responsibil-

ity of citizenship, and is a just method of providing for the public defense.

Congress has provided the soldier with clothing, equipments, rations, pay, spiritual guidance, pensions for disabilities incurred in the service, and homes for the aged, and, in these provisions, has gone beyond the policy of any other country to promote his efficiency and to satisfy his wants, except to provide the best means to protect his health, cure his diseases and heal his wounds. The Medical Department, throughout the Civil War, the Spanish War, and to the present time, has been treated with marked indifference and neglect by Congress. The personnel is kept far below the number requisite to perform efficiently the duties devolving upon that department, and the recommendations of men of the highest scientific attainments, supported by officers of the largest experience in military affairs, have failed to secure for the Army an adequate medical force and the benefits of the latest discoveries which scientific investigations have brought into medical and surgical practice.

After every material provision has been made for the soldier's efficiency and welfare, there are other means of greatly enhancing his usefulness; these consist in official recognition of his meritorious conduct in the presence of the enemy. We have now brevet appointments and Medals of Honor, but their usefulness has been minimized by the delay in conferring them. Every act of an officer or soldier, wherein he displays unusual skill, valor, fortitude or devotion to the flag, or to a disabled comrade, should receive prompt recognition, and in a manner to acquaint the entire command with the circumstances for which the honorable notice is given. Such awards are inspiring, not only to the recipient but to the army, for honorable ambition and love of glory are unquestionably controlling motives, which move the springs of action to the performance of the most valorous

deeds, deeds which are inspiring to others; and, if promptly recognized, the beneficial effects are greatly extended. An army commander should be authorized to bestow medals of merit, and be furnished with such a number that he can cause to be awarded prompt recognition of every act of conspicuous bravery. Congressional Medals of Honor and brevet appointments should be bestowed as early as possible, and not withheld until the war is over, when they are useful only as family heir-looms.

Probably ninety per cent. of the brevet appointments and Medals of Honor were awarded after the close of the war in which they were earned, and consequently were valueless in the essential element for which they were authorized, as incitements to noble deeds.

As a world power, we need more than ever before to raise our military and naval forces to the highest state of efficiency, to bring into use every discovery which will express in the shortest time and most effective manner the nation's strength. Such a policy will increase the number of the nation's days of peace, it will insure the world's respect and, should evil days befall us, it will put the country in a position to compel peace in the shortest time and with the least cost. Writing these closing lines on the forty-first anniversary of my last battle, I feel more keenly than ever the inexpressible horrors of armed strife, and, while desiring the nation to cultivate the arts of peace with the greatest assiduity, I, nevertheless, believe that suitable preparation for war is the surest guarantee of peace.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE REGIMENTAL ROSTER

ROSTER of the Sixteenth New York Infantry Volunteers mustered into the United States service for the term of two years at Albany, May 15, 1861. Mustered out at Albany, May 22, 1863.

The Arabic figures following the names indicate, first, the age, and, secondly, the height in feet and inches of the member at the date of muster into service. In the cases of those who joined after May 15, 1861, the date of their appointment or enlistment follows the figures indicating height. The rules adopted by the War Department for capitalization and punctuation have been followed here.

The abbreviations used are as follows: resd, for *resigned;* disa, for *disease;* wds, for *wounds;* dis, for *discharge;* tr, for *transferred;* m o, for *mustered out.*

The three members unaccounted for are doubtless dead, but their friends do not authorize their being so reported; James A. Hurley was last heard from in 1866; George H. Forsythe, in 1875; Alpheus Tompkins, in 1880.

FIELD

Colonels

DAVIES, THOMAS A.—51 5,8 brig gen Mar 7 1862 maj gen U S V by bvt July 11 1865 m o Aug 24 1865 died Aug 18 1890

HOWLAND, JOSEPH—26 5,10 Mar 7 1862 resd wds Sept 28 1862 brig gen U S V by bvt Mar 13 1865 died April 1 1886

SEAVER, JOEL J.—38 5,10 capt co I maj Nov 11 1861 lt col July 4 1862 col Sept 28 1862 m o May 22 1863 brig gen U S V by bvt Mar 13 1865 died Nov 29 1900

Lieutenant Colonels

MARSH, SAMUEL—42 5,10 died wds July 4 1862

PALMER, FRANKLIN—27 5,8 capt co C maj July 4 1862 lt col Sept 28 1862 wd m o May 22 1863 Plattsburgh N Y

Majors

PALMER, BUEL—38 5,11 m o Nov 11 1861 died May 7 1894

GILMORE, JOHN C.—25 5,9 capt co F wd maj Sept 29 1862 m o May 22 1863 lt col 193 N Y m o Jan 18 1866 2 lt 12 U S I capt 38 U S I maj lt col col A A Gen U S A brig gen U S V Spanish war brig gen U S A Ret Medal of Honor Salem Heights Va May 3 1863 Washington D C

STAFF

Adjutants

HOWLAND, JOSEPH—26 5,10 capt A A Gen U S V Sept 20 1861 (Field Roster)

WILSON, ROBERT P.—22 5,6 2 lt co D adjt Sept 20 1861 wd A A Gen U S V Mar 11 1863 wd maj 121 N Y declined commission resd wds Feb 18 1864 died Oct 15 1893

NEVIN, DAVID A.—26 6 capt co A resd disa July 20 1862 Re-enl Aug 23 1862 2 lt Aug 23 1862 adjt Mar 11 1863 m o May 22 1863 capt adjt 142 N Y tr to 169 N Y m o July 19 1865 died Nov 18 1886

Quartermasters

DEWINDT, ARTHUR—27 5,9 resd Oct 28 1861 capt 128 N Y resd Mar 19 1864 Fishkill-on-the-Hudson N Y

DAVIES, WILLIAM H.—41 5, 7 Oct 28 1861 m o May 22 1863 Ogdensburg N Y

Surgeon

CRANDALL, WILLIAM B.—27 5,10 m o May 22 1863 asst surg 29 Conn V surgeon 33 U S C T m o Jan 31 1866 died May 1 1869

Assistant Surgeons

MOOERS, JOHN H.—33 5,7 surg 118 N Y Aug 7 1862 resd April 4 1864 A A Surg U S A killed Sept 17 1868 Indian wars

MURPHY, CHARLES C.—38 5,6 June 24 1862 surg 12 N Y Inf Dec 31 1862 m o May 17 1863 died Aug 8 1874

PARDEE, CHARLES I.—25 5,6 Sept 13 1862 m o May 22 1863 died Nov 3 1899

Chaplains

STRATTON, ROYAL B.—34 5,6 June 24 1861 resd disa Oct 31 1861 died Jan 23 1875

MILLAR, ANDREW M.—42 5,8 Jan 4 1862 resd disa Sept 26 1862 died Aug 22 1896

HALL, FRANCIS B.—35 5,8 Oct 17 1862 m o May 22 1863 Medal of Honor Salem Heights Va May 3 1863 died Oct 4 1903

FIELD AND STAFF

Average age at muster in 33 1/12 years
Average height at muster in 5 feet, 8 1/2 inches

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF

Sergeants Major

TAPLEY, FREDERICK C.—29 5,11 capt July 6 1861 assd to co. B.

KETCHUM, FRANKLIN S.—20 5,9 3/4 corp co K pro Oct 16 1861 dis disa Sept 10 1862 died July 28 1899

MUNSON, CHARLES N.—21 5,9 3/4 corp sergt co B sergt-maj Oct 9 1862 returned to co Dec 1 1862 See B Roster

WHITE, GEORGE—20 5,6 1/2 corp co B pro Dec 1 1862 m o May 22 1863 died Sept 13 1905

Quartermaster Sergeants

MOORE, CHARLES F.—20 5,8 dis disa Feb 3 1862 1st lt 16 N Y cav tr to 3 N Y Prov cav m o Sept 21 1865 capt N Y V by bvt died Nov 25 1877

DANIELS, WILLIAM H.—21 5,5 corp co A pro Feb 3 1862 capt A Q M U S V July 16 1862 bvt maj U S V Mar 13 1865 m o Sept 10 1865 Ogdensburg N Y

SPALDING, HENRY E.—21 5,7 corp co A pro July 16 1862 m o May 22 1863 died July 15 1904

Commissary Sergeant

WARNOCK, ROBERT A.—19 5,5 July 1 1861 co D pro July 4 1861 m o May 22 1863 died July 2 1870

Hospital Stewards

GANT, GEORGE H.—37 5,7 co C pro June 30 1861 dis for pro June 10 1862 Veterinary 16 N Y cav tr to 3 Prov cav m o Sept 21 1865 died Nov 22 1865

LATZ, HENRY—33 5,11½ enl July 12 1861 G 27 N Y tr to 16 N Y June 12 1862 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl B 118 N Y m o June 13 1865 died Aug 27 1901

Drum Major

UTTER, HOWARD B.—21 5,9½ m o Oct 4 1862 G O No 126 Hd-Qrs A P Re-enl drum major 142 N Y 2 lt June 2 1864 1 lt Feb 17 1865 m o June 7 1865 died Sept 23 1898

Fife Majors

WETHERBY, DAVID N.—21 5,9½ tr to co A May 21 1861

BOSTON, DANIEL WM.—32 5,8½ mus co I fife maj May 1 1862 m o Oct 1862 G O No 126 Hd-Qrs A P Re-enl fife major 193 N Y m o Jan 18 1866 Soldiers' Home Bath N Y

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF

Average age at muster in 24 6/12 years. Average height at muster in 5 feet and 7 inches.

REGIMENTAL BAND

Enlisted Sept 26 1861 to Oct 8 1861 m o G O No 91 W D July 29 1862

Leaders

PARISH, LUCIUS H.—33 5,5½ dis disa Feb 20 1862 Watertown Mass.

MEEKER, DAVID J.—29 5,10½ m o Aug 9 1862 dead

Members

BAKER, EDWARD—28 5,5½ m o Aug 9 1862 Re-enl B 193 N Y m o Jan 18 1866 Potsdam N Y

CHANDLER, HIRAM G.—32 5,10½ m o Aug 9 1862 Re-enl B 16 N Y I tr to F 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 died April 28 1903

CROSBY, GEORGE N.—20 5,10¾ m o Aug 9 1862 Rochester N Y

GOODRICH, ROBERT L.—25 5,8 dis disa Jan 10 1862 died Dec 16 1897

JEROME, AMBROSE—26 5,4¼ m o Aug 9 1862 died Nov 23 1899

JOHNSON, WILLIAM E.—29 5,6 m o Aug 9 1862 died Feb 17 1885

KNOWLES, WILLIAM S.—39 5,5 m o Aug 1862 died Aug 27 1888

MCDONALD, JOHN F.—28 5,3¾ wd m o Aug 9 1862 Re-enl Band 3 brig 3 div 20 corps m o June 12 1865 died Sept 22 1901

MILES, NATHAN K. S.—25 5,4 m o Aug 9 1862 Brooklyn N Y

PALMER, ALBERT D.—23 5,6½ m o Aug 9 1862 died Nov 13 1884

SHARP, OSSIAN R.—32 5,8½ m o Aug 9 1862 dead

SPENCER, JAMES, Jr.—18 5,8½ m o Aug 9 1862 capt 20 N Y cav resd Jan 30 1865 Gouverneur N Y

THRALL, JASON H.—19 5,8½ m o Aug 9 1862 Almonte Canada

THRALL, JOSEPH G.—18 5,3¾ m o Aug 9 1862 Gloversville N Y

VICKERY, MATHIAS F.—23 5,9 m o Aug 9 1862 New Brunswick N J

WASHBURN, MILES—41 5,8¼ m o Aug 9, 1862 died 1885

REGIMENTAL BAND

Average age at muster in 27 9/12 years. Average height at muster in 5 feet and 7 inches

COMPANY A

Captains

NEVIN, DAVID A.—25, 6, resd disa July 20 1862 Re-enl Aug 23 1862 in same co 2 lt to date Aug 23 1862 adjt Mar 11 1863 see staff roster

MERRY, ISAAC T.—23 5,9½ 1st sergt 1st lt Nov 11 1861 wd capt July 21 1862 m o May 22 1863 Ogdensburg N Y

First Lieutenants

VAN NESS, PETER L.—42 5,9 wd capt assd to co I Nov 11 1861 see co I roster

FLAGG, OLIVER B.—22 5,9 sergt 1 lt Sept 29 1862 m o May 22 1863 capt 14 N Y H A resd May 1 1864 Kalamazoo Mich

Second Lieutenants

JONES, CHARLES L.—24 5,6½ wd 1 lt Aug 7 1862 see co C roster

COX, FREDERICK M.—22 5,9 sergt 2 lt Mar 11 1863 m o May 22 1863 Decatur Ills

Sergeants

WILSON, HILL H.—21 5,10¾ dis disa Sept 24 1861 died May 23 1896

HUNTINGTON, CHARLES W.—22 5,7½ pvt sergt 1st sergt m o May 22 1863 Odgensburg N Y

DORAN, ISAAC W.—25 5,11 pvt corp sergt wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl E 14 N Y H A 1st sergt 2 lt May 28 1864 dis disa Dec 15 1864 died Aug 20 1865

BUTLER, FREDERICK A.—21 5,9 pvt wd sergt m o May 22 1863 Re-enl L 26 N Y cav m o July 1 1865 dead

LYON, JOHN L.—19 5,10½ pvt sergt m o May 22 1863 Oakland Cal

Corporals

DANIELS, WILLIAM H.—20 5,5 q m sergt Feb 3 1862 see n c staff roster

SPALDING, HENRY E.—21 5,7 wd q m sergt July 22 1862 see n c staff roster

GODDEN, GEORGE H.—21 5,8½ pvt corp dis wds Sept 25 1862 2 lt 142 N Y dis wds Dec 30 1862 Ogdensburg N Y

GODDEN, JOHN—19 5,8 pvt wd m o May 22 1863 Olean N Y

COWAN, JOSEPH—20 5,8½ pvt m o May 22 1863 died Feb 15 1888

BRASHAW, FRANCIS—19 5,5 pvt wd m o May 22 1863 died Sept 20 1885

WATERMAN, ERSKINE C.—20 5,5½ pvt m o May 22 1863 dead

Musicians

BEAN, WILLIAM W.—18 5,5 m o May 22 1863 Streator Ills

STAFFORD, JOHN H.—21 5,8 tr from co I June 17 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl A 13 N Y cav 1st sergt m o Aug 17 1865 dead

Privates

BARIO, JOHN—20 5,6½ wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl E 14 N Y H A corp m o Aug 26 1865 Soldiers' Home Dayton Ohio

BARTLETT, FRANCIS M.—18 5,7 dis writ H C May 25 1861 Re-enl E 142 N Y corp died disa Mar 21 1863

BEWS, ALEXANDER—45 5,10½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 83 N Y killed May 10 1864

BLAIR, JAMES C.—21 6,3 wd m o May 22 1863. Re-enl q m serg L 26 N Y cav m o July 1 1865 Chicago Ills

BROWN, ELIAS C.—20 5,6 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl corp sergt G 13 N Y cav died Aug 21 1863 of injuries received in service

BURGESS, THOMAS B.—22 5,8½ wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl I 13 N Y cav corp sergt m o Aug 17 1865 dead

CARVER, J. NEWTON—23 5,10½ wd m o May 22 1863 died July 10 1887

CATER, JOHN—25 5,4 m o May 22 1863 Plainfield Wis

CAVANAUGH, CHARLES—32 5,3½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl G 26 N Y cav m o July 6 1865 Soldiers' Home Bath N Y

CLEMENTS, JAMES—19 5,7 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl D 39 N Y 1st sergt m o June 7 1865 Soldiers' Home Milwaukee Wis

COLVIN, JOHN—26 5,11 m o May 22 1863 Hillsboro Tex

CONNELL, HENRY—20 5,4½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl F 1st U S vet inft V m o Feb 6 1866 died April 8 1899

CROWLEY, DENNIS—24 5,6 dis disa June 14 1861 died Nov 1861

DEMPSEY, MICHAEL—21 5,8 m o May 22 1863 dead

DIXON, WILLIAM A.—18 5,7½ wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl A 14 N Y H A m o Aug 26 1865 died Jan 1906

EDGAR, BENJAMIN—19 5,6 wd m o May 25 1863 North Stockholm N Y

ELLSWORTH, DELOS B.—18 5,7 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl B 14 N Y H A 1st sergt dis paroled prisoner of war Mar 1 1865 died Feb 19 1884

FALLON, JAMES—20 5,10 killed June 27 1862

FAVEREAU, ALFRED—19 5,9 wd m o May 22 1863 Chicago Ills

FREEHLING, LEOPOLD M.—22 5,9 m o May 22 1863 Chicago Ills

FULTON, JAMES M.—34 5,10½ tr from co F Oct 20 1861 desr Mar 7 1862 Re-enl art Black River Falls Wis.

GREEN, CHARLES S.—23 5,7 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl E 14 N Y H A died G H Feb 29 1864

HILL, CHARLES W.—20 5,6 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl E 14 N Y H A m o Aug 26 1865 died 1901

HORTON, JAMES E.—18 5,6 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl L 26 N Y cav m o July 1 1865 West Branch Mich

HURLEY, JAMES A.—18 5,7½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl C 24 N Y cav 1st sergt (comd 2 lt not mustered) tr to 3d prov cav m o July 19 1865 Mobile Ala 1866

JOHNSON, JAMES—19 5,7 m o May 22 1863 dead

MCBROOM, SAMUEL—33 5,10½ dis wds Dec 23 1862 Re-enl corp G 13 N Y cav tr to H 3 prov cav m o Sept 21 1865 Oswegatchie N Y

MCCLELLAND, JOHN—23 5,7½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl corp A 14 N Y H A died disa in service Sept 8 1864

MARCEAU, SIMON—19 5,9 dis disa Oct 2 1861 Re-enl C 106 N Y corp m o June 22 1865 died Jan 8 1898

MERRY, HENRY—24 5,8½ dis wds Feb 14 1863 Re-enl A 7 N Y H A killed June 3 1864

MITCHELL, JOHN—24 5,10½ dis wds Mar 12 1863 Re-enl A 16 N Y cav m o Aug 21 1865 died May 16 1882

MITCHELL, JOHN A.—24 5,5½ m o May 22 1863 died May 24 1883

MYERS, JOSEPH—18 5,5½ dis disa Nov 19 1862 dead

NOWLAND, JOSEPH—21 5,5 dropped April 19 1862 Re-enl as James Rogers A 3 Wis m o July 18 1865 Ogdensburg N Y

NOWLAND, PETER, Jr.—27 5,4½ dis disa Jan 10 1862 Re-enl A 26 N Y cav m o July 1 1865 died Aug 11 1884

PATTERSON, HENRY V. R.—22 5,9 dis disa Dec 23 1861 died April 27 1889

PAYNE, CHARLES A., Jr.—19 5,5 m o May 22 1863 St. Paul Minn

PERO, MICHAEL—19 5,4 desr Oct 2 1862 died Aug 23 1890

POPS, JOSEPH—22 5,6½ desr April 25 1862 died 1890

QUAGAN, JAMES—29 5, 4 desr April 20 1862 dead

ROSE, GEORGE S.—25 5,9 dis disa Mar 23 1862 Re-enl and died in service

ROSS, THOMAS—24 5,8½ died dis Feb 27 1862

RUSSELL, STEPHEN B.—22 5,7 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl E 14 N Y H A sergt 1st sergt 2 lt 1st lt m o Aug 26 1865 Chicago Ills

RYAN, JOHN—18, 5,7½ dis disa July 19 1862 Re-enl E 142 N Y m o June 7 1865 Soldiers' Home Dayton Ohio

RYAN, TIMOTHY—20, 5,9 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl I 14 N Y H A m o Aug 26 1865 died Nov 10 1888

SERVICE, HENRY H.—20 5,11 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl A 14 N Y H A q m sergt 2 lt 1st lt dis wds Sept 21 1864 died Dec 20 1886

SMITH, CHARLES A.—18 5,9 dis disa Oct 7 1861 Re-enl 11 N Y indpt

batt as Meyns, Charles A wd m o June 13 1865 died Mar 1905

STRONG, DAVID—32 5,7 desr July 26 1861 dead

SULLIVAN, MICHAEL—20 5,5½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl G 13 N Y cav m o April 4 1865 died Dec 5 1888

SWARTFEGER, JOSEPH (alias Parkerson, Joseph E)—18 5,5½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl A 1st D C cav m o Oct 28 1865 Vienna Georgia

SYMONDS, EDWARD A.—26 5,11 m o May 22 1863 died Aug 17 1889

TODD, JAMES—23 5,7 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl G 13 N Y cav corp tr B 3 prov cav m o Sept 21 1865 Depeyster N Y

TRICKEY, HENRY C.—29 5,10½ dis disa Oct 30 1862 Ogdensburg N Y

WALL, JAMES—19 5,7½ desr Aug 25 1862 Re-enl I 5 Ohio cav m o Oct 30 1865 Gouverneur N Y

WELLER, WILLIAM—20 5,8½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl A 14 N Y H A m o Aug 13 1865 died Aug 19 1895

WETHERBY, DAVID N.—22 5,9½ reduced from n c staff May 21 1861 tr to co C Oct 3 1861 see co C roster

WHITE, GEORGE B.—18 5,7½ killed May 3 1863

WRIGHT, ROBERT—33 5,5 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl C 142 N Y m o June 7 1865 died May 2 1898

RECRUITS

ALVORD, LORE—22 5,9 May 27 1861 July 24 1862 1st lt 8 Maine (comd capt not mustered) m o Oct 14 1864 died Mar 30 1900

AVERILL, DANIEL J.—37 5,9 Oct 8 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl C 18 N Y cav m o May 31 1865 dead

BEST, ISAAC O.—21 5,9 Aug 15 1862 tr to A 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 Chili Station N Y

DORAN, SAMUEL B.—31 5,9 Sept 13 1862 tr to D 121 N Y dis disa Dec 15 1864 Waddington N Y

FLEMING, CHARLES C.—21 5,7 May 30 1861 dis disa Jan 28 1862 dead

GOODNESS, FRANCIS—18 5,6 June 24 1861 died disa Sept 1 1861

HARNETT, JOHN—25 5,8½ April 1 1862 wd tr to 121 N Y tr to I 10 V R corps m o April 1 1865 ex of service Altona N Y

HATELY, JAMES—23 5,10 Sept 3 1862 tr to A 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 died Nov 20 1900

HELMER, JOHN—26 5,10 Sept 16 1862 wd tr to G 121 N Y died in service May 23 1864

LAFONTAIN, MOSES H.—27 5,11 Aug 16 1862 tr to A 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 died Feb 2 1890

LECOMPT, REMIE—26 5,6 Mar 27 1862 dis disa May 10 1862 dead

MCCOURT, GEORGE M.—18 6 Sept 15 1862 tr to A 121 N Y dis O W D June 1 1865 London Wis

MANOR, GLOAD—21 5,4½ Oct 3 1861 dis disa Aug 7 1862 Ogdensburg N Y

NORTHRUP, LEVI S.—19 5,6 June 24 1861 killed June 30 1862

PARLOW, WILLIAM H.—21 5,9 Sept 14 1862 tr to G 121 N Y dis wds June 9 1865 died Mar 3 1898

PETERSON, WILLIAM W.—25 6,1 May 19 1861 died disa May 19 1862

POTTS, WILLIAM W.—18 5,8½ Oct 28 1861 m o May 22 1863 died 1905

REDINGTON, HENRY V.—21 5,7¾ Sept 6 1862 tr to G 121 N Y comd 2 lt 118 N Y declined com m o Aug 21 1863 Sidney Neb

REED, WILLIAM A.—22 5,7 Oct 4 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl D 13 N Y cav tr to 3 prov N Y cav m o Sept 21 1865 Johnson City Tenn

SARGENT, JAMES—21 5,6 Oct 7 1861 dis disa Feb 20 1863 Re-enl D 13 N Y cav died disa in service Dec 8 1863

SHAY, GEORGE—25 5,10 Sept 8 1862 tr to G 121 N Y died wds April 11 1864

SIDDON, GEORGE—19 5,7 Mar 20

1862 wd tr G 121 N Y m o Mar 25 1865 ex service New Salem Mass

SMITH, JOHN —18 5,8 Feb 10 1862 tr E 121 N Y m o Feb 10 1865 ex service dead

SMITH, PHILLIP—25 5,8½ Feb 10 1862 tr E 121 N Y m o Feb 10 1865 ex service died Feb 23 1869

STARK, THOMAS H.—30 5,5¾ Sept 16 1862 tr A 121 N Y died wds prisoner of war June 25 1864

STEELE, WILBUR—25 5,10½ Oct 3 1861 desr Nov 19 1861 dead

TIBBITTS, HYMAN—24 5,6½ Sept 30 1861 tr from co C Oct 20 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 1st N Y L A m o Oct 30 1865 died Dec 19 1901

TROMBLEE, JOSEPH—21 5,6 Mar 26 1862 tr to 121 N Y V Re-enl M 6 N Y H A m o Sept 5 1865 dead

VAN VALKENBURGH, JAMES S.— 21 6,0½ desr Aug 25 1862 dead

WILLIS, JOHN—35 5,8 Sept 20 1862 wd tr G 121 N Y died wds P of W June 11 1864

Average age 22 8/12 years

Average height 5 feet 8 inches

COMPANY B

Captains

POMEROY, JAMES M.—24 6 resd July 6 1861 maj 9 Kansas cav wd lt col 4 regt V R C col U S V by bvt Mar 13 1865 m o April 27 1866 died Nov 17 1887

TAPLEY, FREDERICK C.—29 5,11 sergt major capt July 6 1861 m o May 22 1863 died Sept 8 1896

First Lieutenants

HOPKINS, WILSON—26 5,6 wd capt Oct 14 1862 assd co H see H roster

KNAPP, EDWIN C.—20 5,6½ sergt 1st sergt 1st lt Oct 14 1862 m o May 22 1863 capt 193 N Y m o Jan 18 1866 died Mar 18 1898

Second Lieutenants

EASTMAN, GEORGE L.—24 5,11 resd disa Oct 8 1863 died Nov 11 1891

HESSELGRAVE, WILLIAM E.—24 6,0¾ corp sergt 2 lt Oct 9 1862 killed May 3 1863

Sergeants

MARDEN, GEORGE W.—31 5,11½ 1st sergt desr June 24 1861 Re-enl under another name in cav and served through the war died 1895

MUNSON, CHARLES N.—20 5,9¾ corp sergt sergt major returned to co 2 lt 106 N Y Mar 27 1863 1st lt Jan 30 1864 dis wds Dec 19 1864 Pasadena Cal

MARSH, WASHINGTON—21 5,6½ serg 1st sergt wd m o May 22 1863 Villisca Iowa

EDDY, JEROME B.—21 5,7¾ corp sergt wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl q m sergt G 13 N Y cav m o Aug 17 1865 died Dec 25 1877

BALDWIN, BENJAMIN F.—22 5,7¾ sergt wd m o May 22 1863 died Dec 2 1895

BARCLAY, JOHN—21 5,6¼ sergt m o May 22 1863 Kansas City Mo

Corporals

WHITE, GEORGE—20 5,6½ corp sergt major Dec 1 1862 see n c staff roster

BARNES, CHARLES P.—34 5,8½ dis disa Oct 20 1862 died Aug 21 1895

JOHNSON, SIMON E.—27 5,9 killed June 27 1862

BAIRD, JAMES E.—21 5,9½ dis wds Dec 16 1862 Baltimore Md

FULLER, ALONZO R.—20 5,5¾ wd m o May 22 1863 Malone N Y

BEACH, ALVA—20 5,6¾ wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl G 14 N Y H A corp 1st sergt killed June 17 1864

DESMOND, EDMOND N.—18 5,10½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl G 6 N Y H A m o Aug 24 1865 died Sept 7 1889

Musicians

CHURCH, JOSEPH M.—42 5,8 dis disa July 28 1861 died April 4 1891

RICHARDS, JAMES W.—21 5,10½ tr to co F Nov 23 1861 see F roster

Privates

BARTON, JOHN—21 5,6¾ desr July 28 1861 Re-enl D 92 N Y Mar 9 1862 dead

BRADLEY, AARON—20 5,8 died disa Oct 2 1861

BRADLEY, ORLANDO J.—20 5,2½ m o May 22 1863 Benton Harbor Mich

BOTSFORD, WILLIAM H.—21 5,8 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl B 11 N Y cav corp m o Sept 30 1865 Canton N Y

BOTTOM, HENRY—25 5,9¾ wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl M 14 N Y H A killed June 17 1864

BREWER, DENNIS—18 5,6¾ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl G 13 N Y cav corp tr to B 3 N Y prov cav m o Sept 21 1865 died May 28 1892

CALL, CHARLES B.—19 5,7 dis wds Jan 27 1863 Norwood N Y

CHASE, JOSEPH—20 5,8½ killed June 27 1862

CHURCH, MILES F.—19 5,8½ dis wds Jan 9 1863 Bethel Vt.

CLARK, GEORGE J.—19 5,5¼ m o May 22 1863 Chetek Wis

CLUFF, HARVEY—20 5,6½ dis wds Jan 22 1863 Re-enl G 13 N Y cav dis wds Oct 15 1864 died Jan 25 1897

COLLINS, ENOS S.—21 5,8½ died wds Sept 17 1862

COLON, ADIN—18 5,6¾ died wds July 10 1862 P of W

CORNISH, ALFRED—28 5,9 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl A 5 Vt sergt m o July 22 1866 West Vienna N Y

CURRIER, THEODORE F.—20 5,8½ died disa Aug 16, 1862

DARLING, ROSWELL A.—23 5,11 wd m o May 22 1863 died Feb 9 1874

DAVIS, THEODORE W.—27 5,11 dis disa Nov 3 1862 Granton Wis

DECHENE, WILLIAM H.—21 5,10½ m o May 22 1863 died Oct 21 1893

DUNCAN, JOHN S.—44 5,11 dis disa June 19 1861 Re-enl G 14 N Y H A dis disa Dec 17 1863 dead

FOLLETT, MARTIN G.—30 5,8 wd m o May 22 1863 Sherburn, Minn

FOLSOM, FRANK H.—23 5,11 dis disa Feb 17 1862 died Dec 15 1896

FORD, JOHN—22 5,5¾ dis disa Dec 22 1862 Re-enl H 9 Maine m o June 10 1865 died Sept 27 1897

FULLER, NELSON—27 5,10½ desr Oct 19 1861 died June 30 1892

GLADDEN, LOREN—23 5,9¾ tr to co F Nov 22 1861 see F roster

GOODRICK, ISAAC—18 5,8½ wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl C 13 N Y H A tr to K 6 N Y H A corp m o Aug 24 1865 died Aug 1 1896

GRENNON, FRANCIS—21 5,6 killed June 27 1862

GRENNON, MILES—19 5,7 m o May 22 1863 Marengo Ills.

GRENNON, WILLIAM H.—27 5,5¼ dis disa June 4 1861 Re-enl killed in service

HUME, WILLIAM—19 5,9 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl I 13 N Y cav sergt tr E 3 N Y prov cav m o Sept 21 1865

HUTCHINS, BRADLEY G.—34 6,1 m o May 22 1863 died July 20 1889

KING, OLIVER B.—26 5,8½ dis Jan 25 1862 Re-enl E 109 Pa Dec 1862 died 1880

LAMERE, OCTAVE—19 5,9½ m o May 22 1863 died 1863

LAVINE, NELSON—19 5,8 dis disa June 4 1861 Re-enl C 92 N Y died in service May 31 1862

MARDEN, HART—22 5,9½ dis disa Aug 11 1862 Childwold N Y

MARDEN, HECTOR M.—25 5,11½ dis disa Sept 11 1862 Colton N Y

MCFEE, ALEXANDER—18 5,8½ dis wds Jan 29 1863 died May 18 1894

MORTON, CALVIN—22 5,9½ tr Dec 15 1862 M 1st U S cav killed battle Big Horn June 25 1876

NESBITT, MATHEW—18 6 wd killed May 3 1863

NOBLE, ALEXANDER—20 5,10¾ wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl B 1st U S V 2 lt 108 U S C T m o April 17 1866 Cleveland, Ohio

PACKARD, TRUMAN A.—22 5,8½ died disa Nov 19 1861

PAGE, ORLANDO D.—19 5,11½ wd killed May 3 1863

PARKER, JOHN F.—21 6,2½ dis wds April 4 1863 Depere Wis

PARODY, FRANCIS—24 5,11½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl E 46 N Y m o July 28 1865 Potsdam, N Y

PATTERSON, ABRAM—25 5,8¼ dis disa June 5 1861 Re-enl C 92 N Y July 28 1862 dead

PERKINS, LEONARD B.—21 5,7½ wd m o May 22 1863 Springfield Mo

PERRY JOSEPH—27 5,7½ dis wds Oct 2 1862 Re-enl G 14 N Y H A m o Aug 26 1865 dead

PERRY, SHERMAN C.—25 5,10 wd m o May 22 1863 Colton N Y

POWELL, JULIUS A.—20 5,11½ wd m o May 22 1863 died Dec 21 1875

RAYMOND, HORACE H.—25, 5,9¾ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl E 14 N Y H A m o Aug 26 1865 Johnson Vt

SEAVER, ORIN D.—37 5,6 m o May 22 1863 died 1866

SERGEANT, JAMES A.—19 5,9½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl G 13 N Y cav tr B 3 prov N Y cav m o Sept 21 1865 died April 10 1879

SMITH, ABRAM—35 6,3 dis disa June 4 1861 died Nov 8 1898

SMITH, WILLIAM A.—18 6,1 dis wds Jan 8 1863 Re-enl G 64 N Y m o July 14 1865 died Sept 29 1896

SPRAGUE, PERSHO B.—19 6 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl 1st sergt F 13 N Y cav m o Aug 17 1865 Dallas Texas

TILLEY, HIRAM H.—18 5,11 dis disa June 4 1861 Re-enl G 2 Vt wd tr V R C m o Sept 13 1864 St George Vt

TRAVER, PETER—25 5,11 dis disa May 4 1863 Re-enl A 17 Vt sergt died wds Aug 2 1864

WILCOX, JAMES A.—28 6,1 dropped Oct 15 1862 dead

RECRUITS

Sergeant

WINTERS, WILLIAM—23 5,5½ June 24 1861 m o May 22 1863 Schenectady N Y

Corporals

VALLIER, JOHN—21 5,8 June 24 1861 dis disa June 2 1862 died June 18 1862

WOOD, LUCIUS E.—23 5,8 May 22 1861 dis wds Jan 11 1863 Re-enl died Mar 5 1865

BOTSFORD, MAHLON W.—18 5,8 Oct 2 1861 m o May 22 1863 died Nov 1 1892

CLARK, ALFRED E.—18 5,8½ June 24 1861 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl A 13 N Y cav tr to 239 co 1st batt V R C m o Sept 12 1865 Horseheads, N Y

VALLIER, EDWARD—19 5,7 June 24 1861 wd m o May 22 1863 died May 1892

Privates

AIKINS, JOHN—21 5,10 Aug 29 1862 tr A 121 N Y killed May 14 1864

ANDREWS, JAMES A.—21 5,4½ Sept 14 1861 died wds Dec 12 1862

BALDWIN, LUMAN E.—26, 5,4 Aug 9 1862 tr B 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 Brooklyn N Y

BRADLEY, ORSON A.—18 5,7½ June 24 1861 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl G 13 N Y cav tr B 3 N Y prov cav m o Sept 21 1865 Soldiers' Home Grand Rapids Mich

BRUCE, NATHAN C.—18 5,7¾ Sept 21 1861 dis disa Oct 23 1862 Antigo Wis

BUTLER, JOHN E.—41 5,8¾ Sept 24 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl M 6 N Y H A died disa in service Dec 26 1864

CARY, ALPHEUS E.—19 5,6½ May 22 1861 dis wds Nov 22 1862 Re-enl

12 V R C 2 lt 3d U S C T m o Jan 20 1866 Joplin Mo

CHANDLER, HIRAM G.—33 5,10½ Sept 3 1862 tr to F 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 died April 28 1903

CHASE, HENRY G.—22 5,9 Nov 12 1861 dis disa Feb 3 1863 Burlington Vt

DARLING, NATHAN—44 5,11 Oct 3 1861 dis disa May 11 1862 died Dec 26 1892

DECHENE, ANTOINE—19 6 Aug 26 1862 tr to B 121 N Y tr 3d N Y indpt battery m o June 24 1865 died Oct 1 1893

DECKER, JACOB—25 5,10 June 24 1861 desr Sept 6 1862 died 1869

DUSTIN, CALVIN M.—21 5,9½ Aug 26 1862 tr to A 121 N Y tr A 6 regt V R C m o July 6 1865 dead

FIFIELD, CHARLES C.—19 5,4 Sept 13 1861 dis disa May 20 1862 Re-enl D 11 N Y cav m o July 13 1865 Grand Junction Ia

FREEMAN, JOHN R.—21 5,10½ Sept 16 1861 m o Sept 16 1863 Potsdam N Y

GUTRIDGE, GEORGE—27 5,8 Aug 23 1862 tr B 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 dead

HANCOCK ISAAC—28 5,7½ Sept 23 1861 dis disa April 24 1862 Re-enl K 142 N Y m o June 7 1865 died Dec 19 1900

HEALEY, MOSES V.—18 5,9¾ Oct 2 1861 died disa Nov 24 1861

HEATON, CHARLES—20 5,4½ Nov 12 1861 dis disa May 30 1862 died Dec 27 1896

HURD, THOMAS W.—24 5,4 Oct 10 1861 dis disa Oct 23 1862 died Aug 19 1881

HUSE, DANIEL—26 5,8 Oct 2 1861 dis disa Jan 15 1863 Canton N Y

KENNEDY, DAVID W.—45 5,6 Aug 19 1862 dis disa Jan 11 1863 dead

LAROCK, NORBERT—18 5,4½ Oct 7 1861 m o May 22 1863 Olathe Kan

LAUGHLIN, JOHN—38 5,6½ Oct 9 1861 m o Nov 25 1863 died Feb 3 1903

LEET, HORACE—27 6 Oct 11 1861 m o May 22 1863 Norwood N Y

MARDEN, JACKSON—18 5,9 Aug 29 1862 tr B 121 N Y killed May 10 1864

MCCOMBER, ADOLPHUS—19 5,10½ Sept 11 1861 killed June 27 1862

MORTON, HARRISON H.—20 5,9½ June 24 1861 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl D 11 N Y cav m o Sept 30 1865 died April 30 1903

MORTON, HURLEY F.—18 5,10 Aug 26 1862 tr B 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 died April 7 1897

PARMENTER, LUCIEN M.—18 5,4 Sept 17 1861 dis disa Oct 20 1862 Nixa Mo

PARODY, HENRY—20 5,4¾ Sept 27 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl G 13 N Y cav tr B 3 N Y prov cav m o Sept 21 1865 Potsdam N Y

SMITH, CHARLES—27 5,11 Sept 1 1862 killed May 3 1863

SMITH, EDMOND G.—25 5,11 Sept 8 1862 captured May 3 1863 paroled not m o dead

SMITH, EDWIN B.—24 5,9½ Oct 14 1861 dis disa Feb 7 1863 died Mar 26 1897

SPRAGUE, ELIAKIM H.—42 5,11½ Sept 26 1861 killed June 27 1862

TENNEY, DARWIN—20 6,0½ Oct 1 1861 wd m o May 22 1863 Colton N Y

THOMPSON, WILLIAM W.—18 5,4 Sept 14 1861 wd m o May 22 1863 died April 28 1899

TICHNOR, GASTON D.—18 5,8 Aug 29 1862 tr B 121 N Y died wds Aug 17 1864

TRAVER, JOHN D.—23 5,9½ Oct 18 1861 dis disa Mar 9 1862 Westfield Vt

TRUMBLE, HARVEY W.—21 5,6¾ Oct 1 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl A 14 N Y H A corp wd and captured paroled m o June 21 1865 Sherburn, Minn

WORDEN, CHARLES—44 5,6 Oct 3 1861 killed June 27 1862

WILSON, JOHN C.—30 5,10 Oct 7 1861 desr April 17 1862 dead

WILSON, WILLIAM W.—19 5,7 June

21 1861 desr Sept 6 1862 Seattle Wash
Average age 22 7/12 years.
Average height 5,8 3/8 inches

COMPANY C

Captains

PALMER, FRANKLIN—27 5,8 major July 4 1862 see field roster
MOORE, PLINY—26 5,6 2 lt wd 1st lt Aug 7 1862 capt to date July 4 1862 m o May 22 1863 capt 26 N Y cav m o July 7 1865 died Nov 4 1881

First Lieutenants

CORBIN, ROYAL—25 5,5 resd disa Aug 7 1862 declined captaincy Plattsburgh N Y
JONES, CHARLES L.—24 5,6½ 2d lt co A wd 1st lt Aug 7 1862 m o May 22 1863 died Oct 4 1892

Second Lieutenant

HARE, IRA W.—29 5,7¼ sergt 2 lt Aug 7 1862 m o May 22 1863 died April 10 1900

Sergeants

TENNANT, AMHERST D.—33 5,4½ dis disa Oct 2 1862 died 1882
BURDICK, PETER F.—40 5,7 dis disa Dec 24 1862 Re-enl L 1st N Y Engs m o June 30 1865 died May 17 1884
CORBIN, GEORGE S.—22 5,8½ corp m o May 22 1863 Plattsburgh N Y
WASHBURN, BARNICE—44 5,7¼ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl E 83 N Y tr C 94 N Y tr E 97 N Y dis disa Sept 23 1864 died May 4 1886
MEADER, DAVID L.—21 5,11⅜ m o May 22 1863 Manhattan Ills
MOFFITT, JOHN H.—19 5,5¾ corp wd m o May 22 1863 Medal of Honor Gaines' Mill Va June 27 1862 Plattsburgh N Y
CHRISTIAN, WILLIAM W.—22 5,7⅛ wd m o May 23 1863 Re-enl A 8 Wis m o Sept 5 1865 Saranac N Y

Corporals

CLARK, THOMAS—29 6,2½ killed June 27 1862
FORD, JOHN—27 5,11½ dis wds Aug 18 1862 died Oct 2 1901
CHAPPEL, PARKMAN D.—28 5,9 dis disa Dec 13 1862 died Mar 7 1864
TUCKER, MELVIN—25 5,5¼ m o May 22 1863 died Mar 23 1887
MCCARTY, EDWARD—24 5,8¾ wd m o May 22 1863 Potsdam N Y
COCHRAN, SILAS W—19 5,11½ wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl A 16 N Y cav m o May 31 1865 Pierrepont N Y
HOWES, JOHN V.—22 5,5⅝ wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl G 142 N Y m o June 7 1865 died Sept 19 1896
LUCAS, CHARLES—22 5,10½ wd m o May 22 1863 Ormstown Can
ROBINSON, RUFUS—21 5,11 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl corp I 192 N Y m o Aug 28 1865 Accokeek Md
BULLY, MITCHELL—23 5,9¾ wd m o May 22 1863 died Aug 16 1900

Musicians

GOOD, LEVI—19 5,5¾ tr G 5 U S Art Oct 23 1862 m o May 7 1863 died June 3 1887
MCCOY, AUGUSTUS—19 5,7 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl F 91 N Y m o June 8 1865 Natural Bridge N Y

Privates

AMORE, ISRAEL—20 5,9¼ desr Sept 7 1862 dead
ARMSTRONG, JAMES—43 5,8½ dis Nov 8 1861 Re-enl H 96 N Y m o Feb 6 1866 died Mar 10 1900
BANKER, CHARLES B.—24 5,8½ m o May 22 1863 died April 17 1876
BEDELL, JACOB S.—26 5,10½ m o May 22 1863 died Jan 18 1903
BOWEN, BRAINARD—24 5,6½ wd m o May 22 1863 Los Angeles Cal
CANFIELD, JOSEPH W.—21 5,7¼ dis disa Feb 2 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav dis disa Feb 18 1864 Morrisonville N Y

CHAPPEL, CLARK—32 5,9½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl E 83 N Y tr H 97 N Y corp m o June 3 1865 died Dec 3 1868

CLARK, JOHN J.—21 5,7¼ wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl sergt G 26 N Y cav m o July 6 1865 Little Falls Minn

COLLINS, ROBERT—21 5,7 killed June 27 1862

COYLE, WILLIAM T.—20 5,9 desr Sept 14 1862 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav died in service Dec 22 1864

CUBLEY, EDWIN J.—21 5,10¼ dis disa Nov 7 1861 Chicago Ills

DANFORTH, MILES—18 5,7 killed May 3 1863

DOMINY, WILLIAM H.—20 5,7⅛ died wds July 4 1862 P of W

DUNN, WILLIAM—24 5,7 killed Sept 14 1862

GARIPY, LOUIS—20 5,10¾ wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl B 1st N Y L Art m o June 18 1865 Holyoke Mass

GARROW, JOHN—33 5,7 wd m o May 22 1863 Morrisonville N Y

GRANT, WILLIAM—30 5,6¾ dis disa Sept 6 1861 dead

HAYES, JOHN B.—22 5,7⅞ dis disa Dec 15 1862 Middlebury Vt

HENRY, PATRICK—45 5,10 dis disa June 20 1861 dead

HILLIARD, JOHN—22 5,8 wd m o May 22 1863 Ottawa Ills

HILLS, GEORGE—25 5,7¾ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl sergt D 17 Vt m o July 14 1865 West Redding Conn

KELLEY, THOMAS—25 5,7½ desr Aug 24 1862 Re-enl A 21 Pa cav m o July 8 1865 died Feb 11 1896

KING, ALEXANDER—27 5,4½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl B 1st N Y L Art m o June 18 1865 died May 29 1901

LORAINE, MICHAEL—35 5,6½ m o May 22 1863 died July 4 1866

MCCAFFERTY, JOHN—28 5,7 killed June 27 1862

MCCARTY, JOHN—22 5,10⅝ dis disa Sept 4 1861 died Dec 25 1904

MCKEEVER, JOHN—26 5,9 died disa Sept 26 1862

MARSHALL, GEORGE A.—32 5,6⅝ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl F 2 Vt wd m o June 25 1865 died Nov 6 1885

MATHEWS, JOHN W.—24 5,11 dis disa Sept 6 1861 Re-enl sergt H 96 N Y sergt major 2 lt 1st lt capt dis disa July 10 1864 died Aug 11 1867

MOONEY, JOSEPH W.—28 5,5¾ m o May 23 1863 Re-enl B 1st N Y L Art m o June 18 1865 died Nov 12 1891

MYERS, THOMAS—26 5,8¼ killed June 27 1862

OSTRANDER, ISRAEL—26 5,7½ dis disa Aug 16 1862 Re-enl G 153 N Y m o Oct 2 1865 died Aug 4 1904

OTIS, WILLIAM A.—23 5,8 dis disa Mar 9 1862 Re-enl F 9 Vt Jan 1 1863 reported to have re-enl and killed in May 1864

PARKS, THOMAS—31, 5,8½ wd m o May 23 1863 died May 16 1900

PIKE, SANDS N.—35 5,9¼ wd m o May 23 1863 Re-enl H 153 N Y tr to 5 co 2 bat V R C m o Oct 28 1865 died Dec 18 1900

PUTRAW, JOSEPH—35 5,9 wd m o May 22 1863 Plattsburgh N Y

ROBINSON, HEMAN—20 5,9½ wd killed May 3 1863

RUGER, JACOB—20 5,8½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav died disa in service Oct 24 1864

RYAN, RICHARD—27 5,11½ m o May 22 1863 Burlington Vt

SARGENT, FRANCIS H.—19 5,6½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav died disa in service Dec 22 1864

SMITH, EDWIN—24 5,6¾ dis disa Sept 6 1861 died June 5 1893

SNOW, BARNEY—35 5,8 dis Nov 12 1861 Re-enl D 16 W Va m o June 1863 dead

THOMPSON, WILLIAM—35 5,8¾ wd m o May 22 1863 died Oct 6 1896

TORRY, JOHN—33 5,7½ died wds Sept 16 1862

TORRY, LAFAYETTE—36 5,7¼ dis wds Jan 7 1863 died 1887
TOWNSEND, WILLIAM—35 5,9 died wds Nov 22 1862
VARNO, JAMES H.—19 5,6¾ wd m o June 7 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav m o Nov 8 1865 Dannemora, N Y
VOGAN, ELIJAH G.—18 5,7 dis wds Mar 18 1863 Re-enl unassd 1st N Y Eng m o May 8 1865 Plattsburg N Y
WATSON, WINSLOW Z.—23, 6,2 wd m o June 8 1863 Re-enl M 15 N Y cav m o Aug 9 1865 died Mar 29 1895
WETHERBY, DAVID N.—21 5,9½ tr from co A Oct 3 1861 wd m o June 7 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav m o Nov 8 1865 died Aug 5 1903
WHITMAN, JEROME B.—19 5,11¾ dis Aug 19 1862 Baltimore Md
WILCOX, WALLACE J.—20 5,5½ dis disa July 15 1862 Re-enl C 91 N Y m o June 10 1865 Redford N Y
WILLIAMS, JAMES L.—21 5,7½ dropped Oct 14 1862 Los Banos Cal
WILLIAMS, MARION F.—18 5,4 dis wds Sept 6 1862 Gettysburg Pa
WILLIAMS, STEPHEN G.—23 5,8½ wd m o May 23 1863 died Jan 29 1901

RECRUITS

Corporals

LUCAS, ROBERT T.—20 5,10½ Sept 24 1861 dis wds Dec 5 1862 Alexandria Va
POWER, ANDREW—26 5,8 Sept 27 1861 m o May 22 1863 Elkhart Ind

Privates

BARSLOW, JOSEPH—18 5,8 Sept 9 1861 dis disa Oct 24 1862 Re-en-31st co 2 bat V R C dis Oct 24 1864 Holyoke Mass
BISSELL, HENRY R.—25 5,6 Aug 18 1862 killed Sept 14 1862
BULLIS, LEONARD C.—21 5,9 Sept 24 1861 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl E 16 N Y cav m o May 26 1865 died July — 1886
BUSHAW, CAMILE—18 5,5 Sept 14 1861 dis wds Oct 28 1862 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav m o Nov 8 1865 died Mar 18 1885
BUSHAW, DAVID—21 5,10½ Sept 14 1861 dis disa July 9 1862 Delmar, Del.
COLLINS, CALVIN A.—21 5,9 Sept 21 1861 m o June 4 1863 died Nov 11 1881
COLLINS, GEORGE W.—30 5,10 Sept 23 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl I 16 N Y cav m o May 26 1865 Saranac N Y
CRARY, LOUIS H.—24 5,11 Sept 30 1861 m o May 22 1863 Redford N Y
CROSS, LOUIS E.—26 5,8 Sept 23 1861 dis disa May 4 1862 Re-enl E 22 V R C May 8 1865 died Sept 13 1871
DEPO, FRANK—22 5,3 Sept 17 1861 desr Sept 7 1862 died June 15 1881
DOW, WILLIAM W.—18 5,8 Sept 9 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl G 26 N Y cav corp m o July 6 1865 died Oct 13 1896
DOWNEY, LORENZO, JR.—18 5,9 Sept 11 1861 wd m o June 4 1863 died Mar 18 1898
DUSTIN, REDFORD M.—21 5,6 Aug 26 1862 tr F 121 N Y 1st sergt m o June 25 1865 died Dec 10 1890
FELTON, JOHN H.—22 5,10½ Sept 23 1861 m o May 22 1863 died Sept 15 1889
FIELDERS, JOHN—40 5,10 Sept 12 1861 killed June 27 1862
FLANDERS, IRA D.—31 5,7 Aug 26 1862 dis disa Dec 24 1862 Saranac N Y
FORDHAM, SMITH—35 5,10½ Aug 27 1862 wd tr G 121 N Y tr 166 co 2 batt V R C m o June 17 1865 died Aug 8 1899
GANT, GEORGE H.—37 5,3½ May 16 1861 hosp steward June 30 1861 see n c staff roster
GOUGH, JAMES—44 5,9 Sept 13 1861 m o May 22 1863 dead
GOUGHER, ANSEL W.—25 5,3½ Sept

30 1861 dis disa Dec 15 1862 died Jan 5 1874

HARE, DANIEL—26 5,9 Sept 23 1861 died disa Oct 12 1862

HARE, JOHN T.—33 5,6 Aug 27 1862 dis disa Oct 22 1862 Wentworth S Dak

HARE, SIDNEY L.—28 5,8 Aug 25 1862 killed Sept 14 1862

HEATH, BENJAMIN F.—19 5,7½ Sept 12 1861 tr co H Nov 3 1861 see H roster

HEATH, SAMUEL—26 5,7¾ Sept 12 1861 tr co H Nov 3 1861 see H roster

HULL, WESLEY S.—26 5,6 Sept 21 1861 died wds July 1 1862 P of W

IRISH, MILLARD F.—18 5,5½ Aug 26 1862 tr E 121 N Y dis disa Aug 24 1864 died Mar 20 1898

JOHNSON, IRA—29 5,9 Aug 29 1862 killed May 3 1863

KELLEY, PATRICK—35 5,11½ Aug 18 1862 tr B 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 Sandy Hill N Y

KING, OLIVER—32 5,8 Aug 30 1862 tr A 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 Mooers N Y

LAMONTAIN, CHARLES—18 5,8 Sept 24 1861 desr Oct 2 1862 dead

LAMPARD, HENRY—19 5,6½ Aug 28 1862 tr to — 121 N Y dis disa June 5 1863 died June 1 1873

LAPAN, John—19 5,9 Sept 24 1861 dis wds Jan 12 1863 Ellenburg N Y

LAROCK, PETER—20 5,1 Sept 28 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav bugler m o Nov 8 1865 Schuyler Falls N Y

LEARY, WILLIAM—23 5,7½ Aug 20 1862 wd tr A 121 N Y killed July 17 1864

MILLER JOSEPH C.—23 5,8 Aug 30 1862 tr D 121 N Y April 24 1865 dead

NEY, LYMAN T.—19 5,7½ Sept 23 1861 died wds July 4 1862 P of W

OSTRANDER, THOMAS A.—36 5,4½ Aug 30 1862 tr C 121 N Y tr 1st V R C m o July 14 1865 died Feb 2 1902

PINE, SMITH—32 5,7 Aug 18 1862 wd tr A 121 N Y corp m o June 25 1865 Keeseville N Y

REDMOND, JOHN—18 5,7 Aug 30 1862 wd tr— 121 N Y Clayburg NY

REHTZ, WILLIAM—39 5,7 Aug 30 1862 tr C 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 Soldiers' Home Santa Monica Cal

ROCK, LOUIS H.—19 5,8 Aug 18 1862 tr H 121 N Y wd tr F 18 V R C m o June 27 1865 Soldiers' Home Johnson City Tenn

RYAN, PATRICK—27 5,9¾ Sept 12 1861 dis disa Feb 20 1862 Re-enl I 3 Vt dis disa Feb 25 1865 dead

SEVEY, GEORGE W.—24 5,6⅞ Sept 21 1861 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl C 16 N Y cav m o June 13 1865 Chateaugay Lake N Y

SIDDON, JAMES—18 5,7 Aug 21 1862 tr H 121 N Y wd m o June 25 1865 died May 22 1889

SLAVEN, JAMES—21 5,8½ Sept 9 1861 dis disa Dec 9 1862 Re-enl G 26 N Y cav m o July 6 1865 Paul Smiths N Y

SMITH, JAMES R.—39 5,11 Aug 29 1862 tr C 121 N Y m o July 25 1865 died April 13 1880

SMITH, MELVIN A.—32 5,10 Aug 18 1862 desr Oct 2 1862 dead

SOPER, HERMAN—27 6,6 Aug 29 1862 wd tr C 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 dead

STILES GEORGE C.—20 6 Aug 28 1862 dis disa Nov 5 1862 Plattsburgh N Y

STILES, STEADMAN S.—35 5,10½ Aug 30 1862 tr to C 121 N Y m o July 25 1865 died April 26 1900

THOMAS, SETH—24 5,7 Aug 29 1862 killed May 3 1863

TIBBITTS, LYMAN—24 5,6½ Sept 30 1861 tr co A Oct 20 1861 see co A roster

TURNER, JOHN H.—29 5,4 Aug 29 1862 tr A 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 died Dec 21 1905

VAN ARNAM, JAMES H.—29 5,6½ Aug 26 1862 dis disa April 11 1863 died 1900

WASHBURN, ORVILLE—27 5,6½ Sept 21 1861 dis wds Dec 27 1862 West Chazy N Y

WEBB, RICHARD O.—31 5,5½ May 16 1861 m o June 24 1863 died Jan 12 1902
WILCOX, JOSHUA—42 5,10½ Aug 26 1862 wd tr K 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 died July 12 1882
WILLARD, AMOS H.—27 5,11 Aug 30 1862 died disa April 8 1863
WINSLOW, AZRO—25 5,8 Sept 21 1861 died disa June 1 1862
WINSLOW, EDO—21 5,8½ Sept 21 1861 m o May 22 1863 died June 19 1883
Average age 25$\frac{1}{2}$ years
Average height 5 feet 8 inches

COMPANY D

Captain

PARKER, GEORGE—34 5,8 wd m o May 22 1863 died May 11 1883

First Lieutenants

BARNEY, ALBERT M.—23 5,7¾ capt June 26 1862 assd to E see E roster
WALLING, WILLIAM H.—30 5,7 1st sergt 2 lt Sept 20 1861 1st lt June 26 1862 m o May 22 1863 1st lt 142 N Y June 27 1863 capt Nov 17 1864 m o June 7 1865 major U S V by bvt lt col U S V by bvt Mar 13 1865 Medal of Honor Fort Fisher N C Dec 25 1864 Potsdam N Y

Second Lieutenants

WILSON, ROBERT P.—21 5,7½ adjt Sept 20 1861 see staff roster
MORRIS, WILLIAM H.—22 5,5¾ sergt wd 2 lt Nov 15 1862 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl E 16 N Y H Art 2 lt 20 N Y ind battery m o July 31 1865 McPherson Kan

Sergeants

HUTTON, WILLIAM W.—22 5,8¼ wd comd 2 lt not mustered died wds Nov 15 1862
WHITNEY, SAMUEL M.—20 5,9¾ corp died disa Dec 21 1861
GARDNER, CHARLES I.—20 5,7¾ corp dis wds Mar 4 1863 Cape Vincent N Y
HAILE, FREDERICK H.—18 5,10½ m o May 22 1863 capt 18 N Y cav m o May 31 1866 Gouverneur N Y
MAINE, HARRISON C.—18 5,9½ corp m o May 22 1863 Hermon N Y
SHAVER, ANDREW J.—22 5,8¼ corp m o May 22 1863 died Feb 11 1865

Corporals

CONANT, CHARLES H.—21 6,2 killed Sept 14 1862
ROBERTSON, JAMES H.—23 5,7¾ wd died wds Oct 7 1862
SMITH, CHARLES M.—20 5,10 wd died wds Oct 11 1862
QUILL, DAVID—19 6 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl 20 N Y cav 2 lt m o July 31 1865 died Jan 8 1883
HILTS, THEODORE W.—22 5,8 wd m o May 22 1863 East Tawas Mich

Musicians

BURNS, JAMES—35 5,7¾ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl killed in service
PARKER, THOMAS—31 5,8¼ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 20 N Y cav corp m o July 31 1865 died May 29 1903

Privates

ADAMS, WILLIAM—22 5,7¾ killed May 3 1863
AYRES, LUCIUS J.—30 5,7 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl D 1st N Y L Art m o May 30 1865 died May 21 1893
BABCOCK, GEORGE M.—26 5,5½ desr Nov 19 1861 Re-enl F 86 N Y m o June 3 1865 Norwood N Y
BARNES, ERWIN H.—18 5,6 died wds Aug 12 1862
BURR, SOLOMON—26 5,8¾ killed June 27 1862
CLARK, JOHN C.—21 5,8¼ wd m o May 22 1863 died Aug 15 1901
COLE, ELLIOTT—20 5,5½ m o May

22 1863 Re-enl B 1st N Y vet cav sergt m o July 20 1865 died Oct 3 1903

COMSTOCK, IRVING—18 5,8¾ dis disa June 14 1861 Ballard Wash

DOUSEY, RICHARD H.—18 5,4 desr June 4 1862 Re-enl 146 N Y killed May 5 1864

DROWN, GEORGE H.—23 5,9¾ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl E 14 N Y H Art sergt m o Aug 26 1865 died May 20 1891

DRURY, IRA W.—32 5,7¾ dis disa Oct 17 1861 died Dec 19 1865

EAGER, JOHN C.—18 5,4½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl L 18 N Y cav sergt dis disa Mar 7 1865 died Mar 31 1895

FRADENBURGH, JOHN S.—21 5,7¾ killed Sept 14 1862

FRADENBURGH, JASON N.—19 5,10¾ dis disa Nov 12 1862 Tidioute Penn.

FAIRBANKS, ALDEN—18 5,9¾ wd m o May 22 1863 died Mar — 1893

GALE, HENRY R.—20 5,9 died disa Dec 15 1862

GORE, JOHN H.—21 5,4 desr June 4 1862 Re-enl dead

GROTHIER, EDWARD—20 5,7¾ wd m o May 22 1863 Watertown N Y

HICKS, WILLIAM I.—19 5,10½ tr from co G Nov 4 1861 wd m o May 22 1863 Croswell, Mich.

HILL, GEORGE, Jr.—25 5,6½ wd m o May 22 1863 Massena, N Y

HILL, THOMAS—24 5,6½ died wds May 17 1863 P of W

HINES, HEMAN—18 5,7½ desr May 31 1862 dead

HOLLAND, DANIEL—20 5,10½ dis disa June 8 1861 Re-enl — 106 N Y killed May 12 1864

HURELLE, FRANCIS—23 5,8½ dis disa June 19 1861 Re-enl G 176 N Y dis disa Nov 16 1863 died Nov 1 1904

JENNE, CHARLES H.—19 5,5½ m o May 22 1863 Indianapolis Ind

JOHNSON, D. WARD—26 5,6½ died disa Jan 4 1862

JONES, DAVID—21 5,6½ died wds Dec 20 1862

JONES, JOHN—23 5,8½ died disa Mar 16 1862

LASHBROOK, GEORGE W.—24 5,10 died disa April 24 1862

LYNDE, JAMES H.—20 5,11½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl E 14 N Y H Art corp regt com sergt 2 lt Dec 1 1864 wd m o Aug 26 1865 died July 6 1885

MCCLELLAND, MADISON—18 5,5 died disa Aug 3 1861

MCCOMBS, JAMES T.—19 5,9 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl F 18 N Y cav 1st sergt m o May 31 1865 died Dec 1905

MARSHALL, JOHN M.—19 5,7½ m o May 22 1863 died Nov 16 1866

MITCHELL, JAMES M.—34 5,5¾ desr Mar 17 1862 Re-enl A 16 N Y H Art m o Aug 21 1865 dead

MOUTHROP, GEORGE H.—23 5,10¾ m o May 23 1863 Morrisburgh Can

O'CONNELL, MATHEW—24 5,5¾ dis disa Nov 7 1861 Mexico N Y

PARKINSON, JOHN N.—44 5,9 dis disa June 13 1861 Re-enl B 18 N Y cav dis disa July 20 1864 died June 11 1899

PERIGO, TRUMAN—19 5,6½ desr Sept 7 1861 Re-enl D 94 N Y died — 1876

PETTIES, MILES—20 5,6¾ died disa Oct 3 1862

POOL, EZRA J.—28 5,10 dis disa June 14 1862 died Nov 1 1887

RAYMOND, LEWIS S.—21 5,4¾ dis disa Mar 9 1862. died July — 1894

RICE, JOHN W.—19 5,9¼ m o May 22 1863 died Sept 21 1886

ROBINSON, HENRY R.—20 5,9¼ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl I 121 N Y (as John H. Enslow) tr H 65 N Y m o July 25 1865 Soldiers' Home, Hampton, Va

ROGERS, JOHN W.—19 5,7½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl E 14 N Y H Art corp sergt died disa in service Aug 24 1864

SCOTT, EDWIN K.—18 6,1 died disa Oct 7 1862

SHIPMAN, ORVILLE R.—21 5,5¼ m o May 22 1863 died Mar 6 1904

SMITH, B. ORLOW—21 5,5½ m o May 22 1863 died April — 1873
STONE, BRADFORD—29 5,9 m o May 22 1863 Harvard, Neb.
SWEM, CHARLES—35 5,7¾ m o May 22 1863 died April 3 1899
THAYER, JOHN P.—44 5,7 dis disa Feb 20 1862 Re-enl A 10 N Y H A m o June 21 1865 died June 26 1889
THAYER, ROBERT—20 5,9 dis disa Jan 10 1862 Re-enl A N Y H A died Jan 5 1902
THAYER, WILLIAM C.—21 5,9½ desr Nov 19 1861 Re-enl C N Y H A m o Sept 5 1865 died Feb 8 1898
TIO, MICHAEL—18 5,4½ m o May 22 1863 Spring Valley Wis
TOMPKINS, ANCEL W.—24 5,9 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 20 N Y cav m o July 31 1865 Gouverneur N Y
VAN ORNUM, G. MYRON—22 5,5¼ killed Sept. 14 1862
WHITFORD, SIDNEY A.—30 5,11½ dis disa April 11 1862 Re-enl H 20 N Y cav m o July 31 1865 died Dec 6 1888
WIER, WILLIAM H.—19 6,3 missing battle of Antietam Sept 17 1862 supposed to have been killed
WING, JOHN M.—19 5,10½ wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl killed in service
WINSLOW, J. HARVEY—26 5,7½ wd m o May 22 1863 Edwards N Y
WOOD, VIRGIL O.—22 5,5¾ dis disa Nov 20 1861 Re-enl H 20 N Y cav m o July 31 1865 died Mar 1903

RECRUITS

Sergeants

LEE, ANDREW J.—24 5,7 Oct 7 1861 corp sergt killed Sept 14 1862
WILSON, ROBERT B.—22 5,6 May 16 1861 corp wd m o May 22 1863 Rochester N Y

Corporals

SHAVER, SANFORD—32 5,9 Sept 29 1861 dis disa Jan 19 1862 Re-enl H 20 N Y cav dis disa June 30 1865 Pitcairn N Y
ROGERS, HENRY—20 5,7 Sept 30 1861 wd m o June 8 1863 Gouverneur N Y

Privates

BLANCHER, LOYAL H.—24 5,8 Sept 26 1861 m o May 22 1863 Muir Mich
BROWN, THOMAS—28 5,7½ June 24 1861 tr from co G Jan 31 1862 killed Sept 14 1862
BRUMER, RICHARD—41 6 Oct 1 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 20 N Y cav wd m o July 31 1865 died July 9 1903
CAMPBELL, JOSEPH C.—19 5,5 Sept 24 1861 died wds May 17 1863 P of W
CLARK, SAMUEL—45 5,10 Sept 30 1861 dis disa Aug 1 1862 Re-enl H 20 N Y cav died disa in service Sept 27 1864
CLARK, WILLIAM A.—18 5,4 Oct 5 1861 dis disa Mar 9 1862 Hill City Kan
DIMOCK, MADISON F.—18 5,8 Oct 5 1861 dis disa Dec 20 1861 died Nov 14 1885
DOWNING, DAVID E.—18 5,6 Oct 1 1861 dis disa Aug 30 1862 Gouverneur N Y
HICKS, GEORGE W.—23 5,10 Oct 1 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl D 1st N Y L Art m o June 17 1865 Moorland Mich
JENNE, CHAUNCEY R.—25 5,10 Aug 26 1862 desr April 28 1863 Fort Wayne Ind
JENNE, THOMAS J.—18 5,7 Aug 28 1862 tr F 121 N Y wds dis O W D May 27 1863 died — — 1897
JONES, ABRAM—18 5,4½ Sept 23 1861 wd m o May 23 1863 Re-enl G 20 N Y cav sergt m o July 31 1865 Hildreth Neb
JONES, WILLIAM R.—23 5,9 Sept 23 1861 desr April 8 1862 dead
KENNEDY, MICHAEL A.—18 5,6 Sept 20 1861 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl D 18 N Y cav q m sergt m o May 31 1865 Chateaugay N Y

LAMPHEAR, JOSEPH W.—21 5,5 Aug 28 1862 tr B 121 N Y m o July 25 1865 Benton Harbor Mich

LEACH, WILLIAM—36 5,5 Sept 30 1861 died disa Oct 5 1862

LIVINGSTON, JAMES R.—18 5,5 Sept 26 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 20 N Y cav 1st sergt m o July 31 1865 died Sept 17 1901

LOVEWELL, LOREN D.—19 5,6 Oct 5 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl G 14 N Y H Art m o Aug 26 1865 died May 2 1897

MAXAM, LUTHER H.—26 5,6 Oct 2 1861 m o May 22 1863 died Feb 26 1902

MCKEE, JAMES—40 5,4 Sept 23 1861 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 16 N Y H Art m o Aug 21 1865 died — — 1880

MILLER, HENRY J.—18 5,7 Sept 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl E 18 N Y cav 1st sergt m o May 31 1865 Baraboo Wis

MOUTHROP, JOHN H.—20 5,8 Oct 2 1861 dis disa Oct 27 1862 died June 9 1886

PULFORD, JOHN—26 5,8½ Aug 26 1862 killed Sept 14 1862

RICE, JOEL C.—21 5,10 Oct 2 1861 died disa Nov 23 1861

SKINNER, JAMES B.—18 5,9 Sept 24 1861 dis wds Oct 13 1862 died Feb 1 1903

THAYER, ALFRED—19 5,5 Sept 24 1861 dis wds Jan 1 1863 Re-enl I 20 N Y cav sergt m o July 31 1865 Decatur Ills

THAYER, JOHN Jr.—27 5,6 Sept 23, 1861 dis disa Feb 20 1862 died Sept 6 1866

THOMPSON, EPHRAIM—24 5,8 Oct 5 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl E 20 N Y cav m o July 31 1865 died Jan 18 1898

TOMPKINS, ALPHEUS—23 5,9 Oct 8 1861 wd m o May 22 1863

VALENTINE, JOHN—25 5,10 Sept 26 1861 dis disa July 1 1862 Harrisville N Y

WARNOCK, ROBERT A.—19 5,5 June 27 1861 com sergt July 1861 see n c s roster

Average age 23 $\frac{3}{12}$ years

Average height 5 feet 7½ inches

COMPANY E

Captains

STETSON, JOHN L.—27 5,9 lt col 59 N Y Mar 20 1862 killed battle of Antietam Md Sept 17 1862

PIERCE, RANSOM H.—26 5,8½ resd disa June 26 1862 Sticklerville Mo

BARNEY, ALBERT M.—23 5,8½ 1st lt co D capt June 26 1862 lt col col 142 N Y Jan 21 1863 brig gen U S V by bvt Mar 13 1865 m o June 7 1865 died Aug 24 1886

BENTLEY, CHARLES H.—25 5,7 2 lt 1st lt Mar 20 1862 wd capt Jan 21 1863 m o May 22 1863 capt 2 N Y vet cav wd m o Nov 8 1865 died Sept 3 1866

First Lieutenants

DODGE, ASAPH—22 5,6½ sergt co F 2 lt June 27 1862 1st lt Jan 21 1863 m o May 22 1863 Washington D C

LAFONTAIN, PETER—35 5,11 1st sergt 2 lt Mar 20 1862 1st lt June 27 assd to co H see co H roster

Second Lieutenant

PIERCE, LEONARD J.—19 5,11½ sergt 2 lt Jan 21 1863 m o May 22 1863 Sticklerville Mo

Sergeants

WEBER, HENRY W.—19 5,8 dis wds Oct 21 1862 died Aug 29 1893

HAVENS, PERKINS—25 5,7½ killed June 27 1862

BATES, EDWIN—26 5,10½ wd killed May 3 1863

STAVE, GEORGE—22 5, 11½ wd 1st sergt m o May 22 1863 Re-enl C 1st N Y Eng m o May 7 1865 Plattsburgh N Y

SOMERS, LEWIS M.—37 6,0¼ corp m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav m o Nov 8 1865 dead

MURRAY, JOHN—22 5,11¾ corp m o May 22 1863 Re-enl E 14 N Y H Art sergt m o June 25 1865 Soldier's Home Togus Me

Corporals

TUCKER, STEPHEN—41 5,9½ dis disa Mar 3 1863 died April 18 1892

PRINDLE, SOLOMON—36 5,10 m o May 22 1863 died Mar — 1895

STAVE, WOLFORD N.—22 5,10 m o May 22 1863 Plattsburgh N Y

GRANT, JACOB—40 5,6½ wd m o May 22 1863 died May 6 1893

WARD, CYRUS—28 5,10¼ m o May 22 1863 Havelock via Montevideo Minn

CASE, ALBERT—18 5,7¼ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav 1st sergt m o Nov 8 1865 Plattsburgh N Y

MYERS, HARVEY—26 5,10½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav m o Nov 8 1865 Morrisonville N Y

Musicians

APPS, WILLIAM R.—36 5,6 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 64 N Y m o July 14 1865 Soldiers' Home Bath N Y

DAWSON, JOHN—21 5,5 m o May 22 1863 died Feb 16 1892

Privates

AMORE, PETER—25 5,11 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl C 91 N Y Feb 28 1865 Morrisonville N Y

AMORE, VITAL—18 5,8½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl C 91 N Y Feb 28 1865 Soldiers' Home Togus Me

BARTO, FRANCIS—44 5,9½ died disa Aug 24 1862

BENNETT, SILAS W.—18 5,5 dis disa June 7 1861 dead

BECKWITH, GEORGE W.—18 5,5½ died disa Sept 1 1862

BOOLIER, MICHAEL—18 5,9 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav tr to V R C died April 19 1896

BRICE, ANDREW J.—21 5,5½ wd killed May 3 1863

BROADWELL, ANDREW J.—29 5,5½ dis wds Nov 22 1862 dead

BULLY, JOSEPH—21 5,11½ died wds May 26 1863

CHAMPAIN, FRANK—18 5,6½ dis disa Oct 22 1862 Re-enl H 118 N Y dis disa April 4 1865 died Oct 29 1879

CHRISTIAN, JAMES—18 5,6½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav sergt m o Nov 8 1865 Saranac N Y

CROSS, JOHN F.—22 5,6 dis disa Aug 1 1862 Re-enl A 83 N Y killed May 8 1864

DARRAH, CHAUNCEY G.—28 5,8½ dis wds Nov 28 1862 Re-enl F 95 N Y tr G 24 V R C dis disa May 23 1864 Schuyler Falls N Y

DEAN, RENSSELAER—26 6,2 died disa Nov 11 1861

DANO, VITAL—25 5,9½ dis wds Feb 28 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav m o Nov 8 1865 Soldiers' Home Togus Me

DURKEE, HENRY—41 5,6¾ killed June 27 1862

EMERY BENJAMIN G.—22 5,11 died disa Dec 20 1861

FARLEY, JAMES—19 5,8½ killed June 27 1862

FOURNIER, CHARLES—24 5,4¾ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl L 2 N Y vet cav m o Nov 8 1865 Lyon Mountain N Y

GREGORY, ANDREW—20 5,9½ died wds May 17 1863

HARRIS, DAVID—26 6,1 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl A 2 Md dis wds Oct 10 1864 dead

HAY, WILLIAM—19 5,11 killed June 27 1862

HURLEY, MICHAEL—19 5,9¾ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl A 8 Vt wd m o June 8 1865 dead

KING, ELADORE—24 5 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl C 5 N Y cav m o July 19 1865 dead

LABRICK, PETER—18 5,7 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl I 44 N Y tr C 146 N Y m o July 16 1865 Columbus Ohio

LADEBAUCHER, ALEXANDER — 35 5,11 m o May 22 1863 dead

LAHEY, WILLIAM P.—32 5,8½ dis disa June 6 1861 Re-enl K 22 N Y m o June 19 1863 died May 5 1887

LANE, WILLIAM M.—32 5,9½ m o May 22 1863 dead

LEGOY, JOHN—23 5,5 desr June 12 1861 dead

LEZOTT, HENRY C.—31 5,7½ m o May 22 1863 San Bernardino Cal

MCAULIFF, RICHARD—23 5,5½ wd m o May 22 1863 died Nov 25 1876

MCLANE, CORNELIUS—21 5,6¾ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl K 1st Vt cav m o Aug 9 1865 Brandon Vt

MAHANEY, THOMAS—25 5,7¾ dis disa June 20 1862 Saguache Col

MARION, JOSEPH—36 5,7½ dis wds Nov 17 1862 died May 16 1890

MEYETTE, PETER—27 5,10¾ wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl A 1st Vt cav m o Aug 9 1865 Soldiers' Home Bath N Y

MOFFITT, PATRICK—18 5,9½ m o May 22 1863 died Sept 27 1880

MONTY, BENJAMIN—35 5,5 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl L 83 N Y killed May 8 1864

MURPHY, JAMES—38 5,11 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 1st N Y Eng m o June 30 1865 died June 29 1878

MUZZEY, JAMES S.—18 5,6 died wds Oct 26 1862

MYERS, JOSEPH—24 5,9½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav m o Aug 23 1865 Weyaugwea Wis

NORCROSS, BENJAMIN R.—36 6,0½ killed June 30 1862

ORLENA, RAPHAEL—23 5,10 tr from co G Nov 3 1861 dis disa Feb 3 1863 Re-enl G 3 Vt wd m o July 11 1865 died May 11 1901

PALMER, WILLIAM, Jr.—21 5,5 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav m o Sept 26 1865 died Feb 21 1905

PECK, WILLIAM M.—22 5,5 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl A 16 N Y cav tr H 3 N Y prov cav m o Sept 21 1865 died Aug 11 1901

PHILLIPS, ELISHA A.—18 5,7 tr from co G Nov 3 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl A 67 N Y tr A 65 N Y Green Bay Wis

POLAND, ANTOINE—35 5,8½ m o May 22 1863 dead

PUTNAM, THOMAS B.—22 5,9¾ tr from co G Nov 3 1861 dis wds Oct 21 1862 Sudley Springs Va

ROBERTS, JOSEPH—44 5,8 tr from co G Nov 3 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav m o May 8 1865 Plattsburgh N Y

ROBERTS, MARTIN V.—19 5,5 killed Sept 14 1862

ROCK, WILLARD—19 5,6¾ died disa Oct 5 1862

ST. ANTOINE, FRANCIS—19 5,9 killed June 27 1862

STEPHEN, ALBERT H.—21 5,6½ wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav m o Nov 8 1865 died Jan 29 1891

SULLIVAN, JOHN—22 5,7½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav m o Nov 8 1865 died Sept 2 1900

SWEENEY, CHARLES—23 5,9 dis disa Aug 26 1862 Re-enl A 11 N Y cav Oct 28 1862 died June 10 1865

THOMPSON, HENRY A.—22 5,4½ dis disa Oct 31 1862 Re-enl A 16 N Y cav dis disa Jan 12 1864 died Feb 14 1891

VAUGHAN, ELNATHAN J.—21 5,11 dis disa Aug 14 1862 Morrisonville N Y

WEBB, MELANCTHON B.—28 5,6¾ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav died disa in service Aug 11 1864

WILLETT, MCGUIRE—27 5,5½ dis wds Mar 7 1863 Peru N Y

WILSON, JAMES W.—18 5,10¾ dis wds Mar 24 1863 Re-enl as Albert A Wilson I 153 N Y m o Oct 7 1865 Soldiers' Home Leavenworth Kan

WRIGHT, RUFUS C.—30 5,9½ dis disa Oct 16 1861 Re-enl in same co Sept 15 1862 died disa Nov 6 1862

YOUNG, BARNARD—18 5,7½ dis wds Sept 30 1862 died Aug 1 1888

YOUNG, CHARLES—36 5,5½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl M 1st Vt H Art m o Aug 25 1865 died Sept 6 1875

RECRUITS

Sergeants

HIGBY, HIRAM F.—24 5,6½ Aug 15 1862 corp sergt wd died wds May 5 1863

Corporals

KAVANAUGH, JOHN—31 5,7½ Oct 28 1861 dis disa Feb 4 1863 died July 22 1896

NORCROSS, JAMES S.—31 5,11 Oct 24 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav m o Nov 8 1865 Woods Falls N Y

Privates

AKEY, WILLIAM—42 5,4 Aug 22 1862 dis disa Mar 2 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav dis disa Feb 18 1864 died Aug 29 1893

BLAIR, WILLIAM R.—36 5,8½ Aug 30 1862 wd tr H 121 N Y sergt m o June 25 1865 died 1904

BRADFORD, GEORGE W.—18 5,7 Sept 7 1861 dis wds Oct 22 1862 Canaan N H

BRICE, AMZI J.—21 5,5½ Dec 16 1861 m o May 22 1863 Soldiers' Home Monte Vista Col

BROOKS, WILLIAM W.—23 5,8 Sept 17 1861 tr from co G Nov 3 1861 dis disa Feb 20 1862 dead

BURNHAM, JOSEPH—23 5,7 Oct 24 1861 killed June 27 1862

CARTWRIGHT, EDWARD W.—24 5,8 Oct 1861 m o May 22 1863 died Jan 20 1901

CHATTERTON, ROBERT—23 5,8½ Sept 8 1862 tr to H 121 N Y 1st sergt m o June 25 1865 Clintonville N Y

CLINE, ETHAN—43 5,7 Aug 27 1862 dis disa Dec 8 1862 died Dec 2 1888

COCHRAN, IRA A.—44 5,10 Oct 28 1861 m o May 22 1863 died Oct 30 1867

COLLINS, MELVIN—37 5,8 Aug 27 1862 tr F 121 N Y Sept 17 1863 died July 10 1889

CONNERS, EUGENE—21 5,0¾ May 16 1861 m o May 22 1863 dead

CURTIS, GOVERNOR W.—25 5,9 Oct 28 1861 died disa Dec 5 1861

DEFOE, JOSEPH—23 5,8 Sept 27 1861 dis disa Jan 20 1863 died Mar 1874

DOCKUM, WARREN C.—21 5,8½ Sept 8 1862 wd tr H 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 Medal of Honor April 6 1865 Cody Neb

DONOHUE, JOSEPH—35 5,8 Oct 28 1861 died wds July 4 1862 P of W

GAFFNEY, THOMAS—18 5,8 Sept 30 1861 killed June 27 1862

HATHAWAY, MILO—18 5,3 Sept 30 1861 wd m o May 22 1863 Keeseville N Y

HAYES, JAMES—18 5,3 Oct 22 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav m o Nov 8 1865 dead

HAYES, MATHEW—18 5,6 Sept 25 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl B 10 N Y I m o June 6 1865 Whiting Ind

HERRON, GEORGE W.—18 5,8 Aug 20 1862 tr G 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 dead

HOW, SEYMOUR N.—19 5,10 Sept 27 1861 wd m o May 22 1863 Foster Can

LABOMBARD, JOHN—18 5,8 Sept 8 1861 dis disa Aug 25 1862 died — — 1863

LAPEER, BENJAMIN—33 5,8½ Sept 1 1861 dis disa Mar 7 1863 died Sept 28 1900

LARO, JOSEPH—42 5,6½ Aug 30 1862 tr D 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 died 1889

LAUGHLIN, FRANCIS L.—26 5,10½ Sept 8 1862 tr E 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 Port Kent N Y

LAVANTON, SAMUEL—22 5,6 Feb 4 1862 tr C 121 N Y Aug 31 1863 dead

MATHEWS, JOSEPH—40 5,6½ Sept 16 1861 died disa Nov 21 1861

MILLER, LYSANDER—22 5,4 Sept 8 1862 desr April 30 1863 dead

PHILLIPS, PHILETUS—23 5,4½ Sept 8 1862 tr B 121 N Y dis May 3 1865 Soldiers' Home Leavenworth Kan

SAMPSON, HENRY G.—23 5,7½ Sept 5 1862 tr H 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 died Jan 29 1900

SHARRON LOUIS—44 5,7½ Sept 6

1862 dis disa Mar 9 1863 died June 17 1889

SHELLEY, HENRY—22 5,9½ Aug 16 1862 wd tr D 2 U S Art m o Nov 3 1865 Saranac Lake N Y

SHELLEY, NATHAN—21 5,6 Sept 1 1862 died wds May 23 1863

SOPER, EDMOND—33 6,1 Aug 30 1862 tr C 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 died May 11 1893

SWEENEY, HENRY—18 5,8½ Aug 27 1862 wd tr C 121 N Y dis disa Oct 30 1863 Dannemora N Y

SWEENEY, MADORE—25 5,8½ tr C 121 N Y died P of W Aug 13 1864

TEFT, CHARLES—26 5,5 Aug 19 1862 tr C 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 died Mar 10 1903

THOMPSON, JOHN A.—23 5,9 Sept 21 1861 died wds Aug 1 1862 P of W

VAN ARNAM, HIRAM H.—24 5,8 Aug 16 1862 tr C 121 N Y tr sig corps Aug 22 1863 m o June 24 1865 Ausable Chasm N Y

WARNER, SHERMAN W.—18 5,4 Oct 23 1861 died disa Aug 26 1862

WHITMAN, ANSEL F.—45 5,6 Sept 28 1861 desr Dec 2 1861 died 1884

WRIGHT, CHARLES M.—18 5,6 Sept 15 1862 tr A 121 N Y killed May 5 1864

Average age 26½ years

Average height 5 feet 8⅜ inches

COMPANY F

Captains

GILMORE, JOHN C.—24 5,9 wd pro major Sept 29 1862 see field roster

SANFORD, HENRY T.—21 5,11½ 1st sergt 2 lt Aug 28 1861 1st lt July 18 1862 capt Sept 29 1862 m o May 22 1863 died July 16 1897

First Lieutenant

VANCE, JOHN A.—24 5,11½ m o May 22 1863 died May 2 1899

Second Lieutenants

HOLBROOK, JOSEPH—26 5,11 died disa Aug 28 1861

HELMS, WILLIAM R.—23 5,10 corp sergt wd 2 lt Oct 14 1862 m o May 22 1863 2 lt 14 N Y H Art Sept 29 1863 1st lt Nov 19 1863 capt Oct 31 1864 resd disa Dec 30 1864 Knoxboro N Y

Sergeants

ADAMS, HENRY H.—23 5,7 died disa Aug 30 1861

DODGE, ASAPH—22 5,6½ 2 lt June 27 1862 see E roster

HOLLIDAY, BLISS—24 5,6½ corp dis wds Sept 18 1862 died Sept 16 1892

THOMAS, SMITH S.—19 5,10 1st sergt wd m o June 7 1863 Re-enl L 1st N Y Engs sergt m o June 30 1865 Southern Pines N C

FULLER, DAVID A.—22 5,6 corp m o May 22 1863 1st lt 193 N Y April 10 1865 m o Jan 18 1866 died Nov 24 1881

BANGLE, ELRICK—22 5,8 corp wd m o May 22 1863 Luce Minn

BROWN, HENRY—30 5,11 corp m o May 22 1863 Re-enl C 6 N Y H Art sergt m o Aug 24 1865 Waddington N Y

FARRELL, TIMOTHY—22 5,8 corp wd sergt m o May 22 1863 died Dec 23 1888

Corporals

ERWIN, WARNER J.—20 5,7½ died disa Jan 13 1862

COOK, JAMES—23 6 dis wds July 1 1862 Colton N Y

WHITNEY, JULIUS B.—25 5,7½ dis wds Nov 25 1862 Water Valley Miss

LOVE, GEORGE J.—31 5,9 killed May 7 1862

WOODWARD, HIRAM T.—24 6 dis disa Nov 24 1862 died Feb 11 1872

GUINN, ALLEN A.—20 5,7 m o May 22 1863 dead

ALLEN, JAMES—18 5,5½ m o May 22 1863 Medal of Honor Crampton's Pass Md Sept 14 1862 St. Paul Minn

ADAMS, WILLIAM—22 6,0½ wd m o May 22 1863 Norfolk N Y

Musicians

CROWLEY, JOHN—19 5,8½ m o May 22 1863 Augusta Wis

DIKE, JOHN—44 5,6½ m o May 22 1863 died Jan 14 1895

Privates

ABBOT, SYLVESTER—30 5,8 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl I 17 Maine tr U S N died Dec 28 1898

ADAMS, JOHN—31 5,7 dis disa June 7 1861 Re-enl K 92 N Y Jan 20 1862 dead

ALLEN, WILLIAM D.—19 5,6½ m o May 22 1863 died Feb 10 1864

ANSTED, CHARLES W.—18 5,6 desr July 9 1862 dead

AUSTIN, OLIVER—22 5,11 died disa Nov 2 1862

BARNHART, ALEXANDER—23 5,7 dis wds June 18 1862 paroled P of W Re-enl H 13 N Y cav Feb 25 1864 died Sept 5 1894

BISHOP, EDWIN R.—28 5,8 killed May 7 1862

BROWNELL, GEORGE C.—22 5,7 dis wds Sept 14 1862 Palmyra N Y

BRUCE, JOSEPH E.—25 5,10½ died wds May 25 1863

BRUCE, SAMUEL G.—22 5,11½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl D 142 N Y m o June 7 1865 died Aug 29 1893

BURDICK, JAMES D.—22 6 killed Sept 14 1862

BUTLER, LOREN G.—19 5,5 died disa Oct 19 1861

BUTTERFIELD, JOHN W.—21 5,9 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl B 11 N Y cav m o Sept 30 1865 died July 4 1905

CARDINELL, JOSEPH—18 5,8 wd m o May 22 1863 Parishville N Y

COPELAND, EDWARD—19 5,6 dis disa July 26 1861 dead

CROSSMAN, EDGAR—23 5,10 dis disa Dec 23 1861 Re-enl A 50 N Y Engs dis disa Nov 17 1864 Berlin Wis

CROSSMAN, EDWARD—20 6 died disa Nov 7 1861

CUNNINGHAM, GILES N.—22 5,5 killed Sept 14 1862

DAY, WILLIAM W.—26 5,6½ m o May 22 1863 North Lawrence N Y

DEVLIN, ISAAC—25 5,5½ dis disa Nov 7 1861 died — — 1862

DOVE, HENRY—22 5,9½ dis disa May 20 1862 Re-enl H 13 N Y cav m o June 30 1865 died June 3 1899

ELLISON, LEANDER—27 5,4½ m o May 22 1863 Hill City Kan

FRARY, DAVID—19 5,6 died disa June 8 1861

FULTON, JAMES M.—34 5,10½ tr co A Oct 20 1861 see A roster

GLADDEN, AMOS —30 5,9 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl I 14 N Y H Art m o Aug 26 1865 died 1879

GLADDEN, LOREN D.—23 5,9¾ tr from co B Nov 22 1861 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl U S N died Mar 24 1894

GOODCOURAGE, WILLIAM—31 5,5½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl E 14 N Y H Art m o Aug 26 1865 died Oct 10 1887

GRISWOLD, REUBEN B.—20 5,8 wd m o May 22 1863 Leavenworth Kan

GRISWOLD, ROBERT B.—25 5,9 m o May 22 1863 died July 6 1899

HAMMOND, HIRAM C.—24 5,10 dis disa Feb 20 1862 Re-enl D 13 N Y cav m o June 30 1865 Norwood N Y

HARVEY, CALVIN—26 5,7 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl M 18 N Y cav m o May 31 1866 died Jan 15 1884

HARVEY, WILLIAM—21 5,11 m o May 22 1863 St. Regis Falls N Y

HODGES, NATHAN S.—40 5,9 dis disa June 8 1861 Re-enl D 13 N Y cav m o June 30 1865 died May 22 1898

HODGES, ZIMRY—18 5,5½ wd m o May 22 1863 Hopkinton N Y

HODGKINS, CHARLES H.—18 5,9 wd m o July 2 1863 Potsdam N Y

HOLBROOK, EDWARD—22 5,8½ died wds May 21 1863

HOLLIDAY, HENRY—19 5,7½ dis wds Feb 10 1863 Re-enl F 193 N Y m o Jan 18 1866 Massena N Y

HOWARD, LYMAN C.—24 5,10 m o May 22 1863 Massena N Y

IVES, CHARLES—21 5,6 dis disa May 29 1862 dead
KELLERSON, ANDREW—26 5,7½ m o May 22 1863 died July 1 1881
KELLY, LEVI A.—22 5,8½ wd dis June 27 1862 paroled P of W Fulton N Y
LALONE, JOSHUA (LALONDI)—24 5,9½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl L 18 N Y cav m o May 31 1866 died — — 1868
PLOOF, PETER G.—20 5,8 killed May 7 1862
POTTER, LUTHERIAN—22 6 died wds July 15 1862
RICHARDS, DARIUS—27 5,8 dis wds Sept 22 1862 died Oct 31 1862
RICHARDS, JAMES W.—21 5,10½ tr from co B Nov 23 1861 died wds Sept 20 1862
ROACH, DAVID—36 5,7 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl died in service Mar 1865
SHALES, ROBERT J.—27 5,9 killed June 27 1862
SHARP, JOSEPH—18 5,8 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl E 14 N Y H Art died wds Sept 8 1864
SHAUGHNESSEY, DANIEL—18 5,7½ desr Aug 18 1861 dead
STEVENS, SIDNEY N.—20 5,5½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl C 6 N Y H Art m o Aug 24 1865 North Chelmsford Mass
TRUDELL, FRANKLIN—21 5,8 m o May 22 1863 died Mar 4 1869
WAIT, MARTIN V. B.—26 5,7½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl C 57 Mass dis disa Dec 29 1864 South Colton N Y
WASHBURN, HENRY C.—23 5,10 killed Sept 14 1862
WEBB, JAMES—20 6 m o May 22 1863 died April 21 1897
WOODRUFF, ELAND A.—37 5,8 killed June 30 1862

RECRUITS

Corporals

MCCURRY WELLESLEY—25 5,5½ Oct 3 1861 killed May 3 1863
STONE, CYRUS R.—21 5,11½ Oct 4 1861 corp m o May 22 1863 St. Paul Minn

Privates

ADAMS, CHARLES E.—20 5,8 Aug 26 1862 tr to B 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 died Mar 3 1866
ALLEN, GEORGE—43 6 Sept 2 1862 tr 121 N Y died disa in service Sept 9 1864
AUSTIN, OEL B.—20 5,6 Aug 30 1862 tr C 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 Norwood N Y
AUSTIN, THOMAS—28 5,7 Aug 30 1862 tr D 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 died Jan 22 1905
BARNHART, ELIAS—21 5,7¾ Sept 18 1861 desr May 31 1862 dead
BENEDICT, CONSTANT—29 5,10 Feb 5 1862 tr C 121 N Y m o Feb 7 1865 ex of service
BRADISH, LOYAL—40 5,9 Aug 1862 killed May 3 1863
BROWN, SAMUEL—32 5,7 June 24 1861 dis disa Nov 7 1861 dead
BUCK, JEREMIAH B.—27 5,11½ Sept 13 1862 desr April 21 1863 dead
DEARTH, JOSEPH L.—26 5,7 Sept 10 1862 tr A 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 died Mar 25 1882
DIMICK, E. NEWELL—18 5,5 Aug 28 1862 tr K 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 Butte Mont.
DURELLE, ENOCH W.—31 5,9 Aug 26 1862 tr K 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 died Dec 17 1876
DURKEE, JOSEPH C.—36 5,11½ Aug 28 1862 wd tr H 121 N Y sergt m o June 25 1865 died Oct 4 1866
EDWARDS, SOLOMON—40 5,4½ Mar 30 1862 dis disa Aug 1 1862 dead
ERWIN, WARREN J.—21 5,7 Aug 28 1862 dis disa Feb 28 1863 Re-enl G 50 N Y Engs m o Sept 1 1865 died June 28 1872
FARNSWORTH, MARK H.—18 5,9 June 24 1861 dis disa Nov 7 1861 died Nov 24 1884
FLANDERS, OTIS B.—32 5,10½ Aug 28 1862 tr B 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 Woodstock Ills
FOOTE, WILLARD P.—26 5,7 Aug 29 1862 tr H 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 Fremont Neb.
FOSTER, CHARLES—25 5,5½ June 24 1861 dis wds Sept 20 1862 Winchester Va
GARCEAU, CHARLES F.—21 5,7½

Mar 27 1862 dis disa May 10 1862 dead

HALE, CHARLES—30 5,9 April 1 1862 dis disa Jan 15 1863 Re-enl F 14 N Y H Art dis disa June 3 1865 dead

HAMLIN, JEHIAL M.—20 5,9 Aug 26 1862 tr B 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 died July 1 1902

HELMS, HENRY M.—26 5,7¾ July 7 1861 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl E 14 N Y H Art sergt died disa Feb 25 1864 in service

HELMS, JULIUS J.—28 5,9½ July 7 1861 dis disa April 25 1863 Re-enl A 22 V R C m o Nov 17 1865 died April 19 1881

JOHNSON, CHARLES W.—30 5,7 Aug 30 1862 tr K 121 N Y m o Aug 24 1865 died Dec 12 1888

LAMB, JOSEPH D.—35 5,6 Aug 28 1862 tr E 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 Los Angeles Cal

LOVE, HORACE E.—21 5,10½ Aug 28 1862 tr D 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 Boulder Colo

MCCLOUD, WILLIAM B.—18 5,5 Aug 26 1862 desr April 1 1863 dead

MCCURRY, JAMES H.—32 5,9 Aug 26 1862 tr F 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 died Jan 27 1892

MATHEWS, RANSOM—22 5,9 Nov. 1 1861 m o June 3 1863 earlier service F 4 Mass. Re-enl after m o 16 N Y sergt 193 N Y 2 lt Sept 4 1865 1 lt Sept 29 1865 m o Jan. 18 1866 Fitzgerald Ga

MURRAY, RANDALL—32 5,8½ Sept 12 1861 dis disa Feb 20 1862 Re-enl E 38 N Y tr E 97 N Y dis disa Jan 12 1865 died Sept 9 1894

NORRIS, JOSEPH B.—40 5,6 Aug 30 1862 tr A 121 N Y dis wds June 12 1865 died April 27 1884

OLMSTEAD, POMEROY H.—19 5,8 Nov 8 1861 dis disa May 20 1862 Re-enl U S N Kansas City Mo

O'NEIL, MICHAEL S.—20 5,7 Aug 28 1862 dis disa Feb 2 1863 Re-enl E 14 N Y H Art dis disa Jan 19 1864 Kankakee Ills

RANCO, EDWARD—43 5,7 Feb 5 1862 dis disa May 10 1862 died Sept 6 1899

RUST, HIRAM H.—24 5,10½ Sept 30 1861 dis disa May 20 1862 Enumclaw Wash

SANFORD, ERASMUS J.—19 5,9 June 24 1861 wd m o May 22 1863 Nicholville N Y

SAYLES, AMBROSE E.—18 5,11 Aug 26 1862 tr B 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 Potsdam N Y

SHATTUCK, WILLIS—19 5,6 Aug 13 1862 tr D 121 N Y captured in battle May 3 1863 exchanged Re-enl K 74 Ohio m o July 20 1865 Winthrop N Y

SHAW, JOHN—31 5,10 Aug 28 1862 tr C 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 Santa Paula Cal

STONE, WILLIAM N.—26 5,8 Aug 28 1862 dis disa Feb 28 1863 died June 27 1865

SWEENEY, MICHAEL—43 5,7 Feb 4 1862 dis disa May 10 1862 dead

THORNTON, MARSHALL M.—43 5,9½ Mar 16 1862 killed June 27 1862

WALKER, FRANCIS—26 5,7¼ Oct 7 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl C 14 N Y H Art died disa May 10 1864

WITHERELL, GEORGE R.—21 5,10 Oct 28 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl B 1st Vt H Art sergt m o Aug 25 1865 dead

Average age 25 1/12 years

Average height 5 feet 8⅜ inches

COMPANY G

Captains

CURTIS, N. MARTIN—25 6,6 wd lt col 142 N Y Oct 17 1862 col Jan 21 1863 brig gen U S V by bvt Oct 28 1864 brig gen U S V Jan 15 1865 major gen U S V by bvt Mar 13 1865 Medal of Honor Fort Fisher N C Jan 15 1865 m o Jan 15 1866 Ogdensburg N Y

BEST, WILLIAM L.—24 5,8 2 lt 1st lt Sept 13 1862 capt Oct 21 1862 wd m o June 3 1863 1st lt capt 9th regt V R C resd Nov 6 1863 Ogdensburg N Y

First Lieutenants

VEDDER, SIMON C.—21 6 resd Sept 13 1862 capt C S U S V m o June 14 1865 2 lt 28 U S Inft tr 19 U S Inf 1st lt Mar 18 1878 bvt 1st lt for Gaines's Mill Va June 27 1862 bvt major June 3 1865 ret capt U S A died Dec 3 1892

BAYNE, ANDREW C.—20 5,6 sergt wd 2 lt Sept 13 1862 1st lt Oct 21 1862 wd m o June 3 1863 1st lt V R C July 16 1863 capt May 24 1864 m o 1865 2 lt 42 U S Inft July 28 1866 tr 6 U S Inft bvt capt for Salem Heights Va May 3 1863 ret 2 lt U S A died Oct 12 1893

Second Lieutenant

AUSTIN, JOHN H.—26 5,5½ 1st sergt 2 lt Oct 21 1862 m o May 22 1863 Heuvelton N Y

Sergeants

AUSTIN, DANIEL, Jr.—24 5,8½ corp dis disa May 31 1862 Seattle Wash

BARNEY, WILLIAM H.—18 5,11½ corp dis disa Jan 20 1863 died Feb 10 1863

PARTRIDGE, LUTHER L.—23 5,8 1st sergt wd m o June 3 1863 died Feb 21 1881

JOHNSON, GILMAN L.—18 5,8 corp m o May 22 1863 2 lt 142 N Y June 27 1863 regt below the minimum not mustered Re-enl pro sergt major wd 1st lt May 18 1864 m o June 7 1865 Maquoketa Ia

BISHOP, JULIUS C.—28 5,10 corp wd m o May 22 1863 died April 2 1900

FORSYTHE, GEORGE H.—22 5,8½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl E 11 N Y cav m o Sept 30 1865

RUSSELL, JOHN F.—22 5,9½ pvt corp wd sergt wd m o May 22 1863 La Crosse Wis

Corporals

WICKWIRE, CHARLES—21 5,8½ dis disa June 6 1863 died Jan 15 1868

MATOON, VINCENT—24 5,11½ dis disa Sept 20 1862 Hermon N Y

FIELDSON, THOMAS—18 5,10 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl I 14 N Y H Art sergt 1st sergt dis wds Nov 6 1865 Gilbertsville Ky

MCKELVEY, JAMES—23 5,9 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl A 14 N Y H Art sergt 1st sergt wd 2 lt Oct 17 1864 resd Mar 18 1865 Juniata Neb

BOSTWICK, EMERSON—18 5,10 wd m o May 22 1863 Hammond N Y

ELLIOTT, GEORGE B.—20 5,10 wd corp wd m o May 22 1863 Farmer Tex

Privates

BACKUS, DAVID—19 5,7½ m o May 22 1863 Mapleton N Dak

BALLENTINE, HUGH—18 5,10½ dis disa June 21 1861 Re-enl C 106 N Y corp m o May 17 1865 Janesville Ia

BANFORD, DAVID—19 5,8½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl B 11 N Y cav died disa Aug 5 1864

BARKER, JOHN L.—18 5,11 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl M 6 N Y H Art dis disa June 12 1865 died Sept 24 1883

BARTON, LEWIS—23 5,8 desr June 2 1861 Re-enl C 7 Vt—Feb 24 1866 Hartford Conn

BAXTER, SAMUEL—20 5,10 m o May 22 1863 died Oct 1902

BENSON, AMOS H.—18 5,7 m o May 22 1863 Minneapolis Minn.

BETTS, EDWIN O.—23 5,10 m o May 23 1863 died May 4 1890

BLOOD, CHARLES S.—19 5,2 musc reduced on own application wd m o June 5 1863 Re-enl E 14 N Y H Art corp sergt 1st sergt m o June 17 1865 died April 29 1890

BREVAN, LOUIS—20 15,2 dis disa June 18 1861 dead

BROWN GEORGE—18 5,6½ dis Dec 29 1861 wd accidentally by comrade Hammond N Y

BURNHAM, ROLLIN—20 6 dis disa June 21 1861 Re-enl C 106 N Y

sergt m o June 22 1865 Storm Lake Ia

CURTIS, THOMAS W.—22 5,7 dis wds Jan 20 1863 died Feb 20 1864

DEAN, AMOS H.—19 6,2 dis disa June 25 1861 Re-enl in same co Oct 21 1861 dis wds Sept 30 1862 Lawrenceville N Y

DELACK, JOHN—21 5,9 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl A 14 N Y H Art sergt wd m o Aug 26 1865 Morristown N Y

DEMPSEY, ROBERT—22 5,10 m o May 22 1863 died Sept 25 1887

EARL, GEORGE—20 6 dis disa Mar 4 1862 died Aug 24 1862

FLEETHAM, GEORGE H.—18 5,6½ dis wds Dec 17 1862 Depeyster N Y

GARDINER, CHARLES H.—21 5,4½ died disa Sept 7 1861

GOODISON BENJAMIN—18 5,4 dis disa Oct 2 1861 Re-enl A 14 N Y H Art dis wds May 12 1865 Downing Wis

GOODISON, JOHN—24 5,6½ dis disa Dec 31 1862 Re-enl A 14 N Y H Art dis disa Aug 26 1865 died Mar 8 1905

GORE, WILLIAM E.—18 5,9 dis wds Oct 30 1862 Richville N Y

GRENIER, CELISTIER—18 5,8½ killed Sept 14 1862

HACKETT, JOHN—33 5,6½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 16 N Y cav tr L 3 N Y Prov cav m o Sept 21 1865 died June 30 1901

HEALEY, JAMES—19 5,5½ dis disa Feb 4 1863 Canton N Y

HICKS, WILLIAM I.—19 5,10½ tr co D Nov 3 1861 see D roster

HULETT, EDWIN H.—19 5,9 dis disa Nov 1 1861 died July 22 1888

HYDE, ABEL, Jr.—21 5,8½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl B 18 N Y cav died in service Sept 29 1864

JILLSON, CHARLES B.—20 5,4½ musc reduced on own application m o May 22 1863 Napa Cal

KELLEY, ROBERT—26 5,9 dis disa Sept 23 1861 Re-enl C 106 N Y sergt dis disa Oct 23 1863 Re-enl D 185 N Y sergt m o May 30 1865 died May 26 1867

KENNEDY, ANDREW—19 6,3½ wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl G 13 N Y cav corp tr B 3 N Y cav m o Sept 21 1865 Soldiers' Home Columbia Falls Mon

KING, GEORGE W.—18 5,10½ dis disa June 21 1861 Re-enl U S N dis disa Re-enl D 49 Wis dis disa Oct 17 1865 Soldiers' Home Santa Monica Cal

LARO, FRANCIS—22 5,5 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl C 9 Vt dis disa Dec 13 1864 dead

LISCOM, RODOLPHUS—18 5,3½ m o May 22 1863 died May 18 1886

MCDANIEL, JOHN—26 5,6 dis wds Feb 19 1863 dead

MAYNE, WILLIAM—18 5,11 wd m o May 22 1863 Heuvelton N Y

MERRELL, JAMES—18 5,8 died disa Nov 3 1862

MILLS, HENRY—18 5,8½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl A 14 N Y H Art dis wds June 19 1865 died Feb 2 1896

MURPHY, JAMES—28 6,1 dis disa Jan 20 1863 Gouverneur N Y

O'CONNOR, JOHN—21 5,4 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl A 14 N Y H Art sergt wd m o Aug 26 1865 Soldiers' Home Orting Wash

ORLENA, RAPHAEL—23 5,10½ tr co E Nov 3 1861 see E roster

PARKER, JAMES—22 5,8½ dis wds Sept 20 1862 died Jan 10 1864

PARSONS, JOSEPH—21 5,6½ killed June 27 1862

PATNO (PATNEAUDE), ADOLPHUS—22 5,11½ dis disa Oct 16 1861 Re-enl K 96 N Y m o May 30 1865 died April 26 1880

PERRIN, LOUIS—19 5,8 dis wds Aug 10 1862 Re-enl A 16 N Y cav bugler tr H 3 N Y Prov cav m o Sept 21 1865 died Oct 1 1870

PHILLIPS, ELISHA A.—18 5,7 tr co E Nov 3 1861 See E roster

PIERCE, CHARLES—18 5,7 died wds May 10 1863

PUTNAM, THOMAS B.—21 5,9¾ tr co E Nov 3 1861 See E roster

RAVEN, HENRY J.—19 5,9½ died disa Mar 20 1862

ROBERTS, JOSEPH—44 5,8 tr co E Nov 3 1861 See E roster

RUSSELL, DAVID C. J.—21 5,7 tr from co I April 1 1862 m o May 22 1863 Chicago Ills

STEPHENS, THEODORE—18 5,6 m o May 22 1863 Los Angeles Cal

TIMMONS, JOHN—26 5,5 dis disa Aug 19 1862 died July 28 1889

TURNER, DENNY—18 5,8 dis disa Sept 26 1862 Osmond Neb

WALLACE, WILLIAM—22 5,7 dis disa Dec 29 1861 Jefferson Ohio

WARDELL, SAMUEL—19 5,9 dis disa Mar 21 1862 Re-enl A 14 N Y H Art corp dis wds June 23 1865 died Nov 29 1897

WASHBURN, JAMES H.—24 5,10½ m o May 22 1863 died Aug — 1876

WAYMOUTH, WM. FREEMAN—18 5,5 killed May 7 1862

WESTERN, JOSEPH W.—21 5,10½ m o May 22 1863 died May 5 1897

WONLESS, GEORGE W.—21 5,6 killed June 27 1862

RECRUITS

Corporals

ELLSWORTH, EDWIN T.—21 9½ May 16 1861 killed June 27 1862

GALLOWAY, WILLIAM K.—21 6,1 Aug 15 1862 tr E 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 Eau Claire Wis

Privates

ADAMS, ANTHONY B.—18 5,5 Oct 11 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl A 14 N Y H Art wd m o Aug 26 1865 Weatherby Mo

AUSTIN, WILLIAM H.—18 5,9 Aug 23 1862 died wds G H Washington Sept 1863

BELL, WILLIAM H.—18 5,5½ Oct 16 1861 dis wds Aug 10 1862 died May 1 1905

BENSON, VALENTINE—18 5,5½ Oct 7 1861 wd m o Oct 7 1863 Straight Penn

BROOKS, WILLIAM W.—23 5,8 Sept 23 1861 tr co E Nov 3 1861 see E roster

BROWN, THOMAS—28 5,8½ June 24 1861 tr co D Jan 31 1862 see D roster

CASSADY, JOHN—21 5,9 Oct 24 1861 died disa May 1 1862

CHAFFEE, JAMES E.—22 5,7 Oct 1 1861 dis disa Feb 1 1863 died Jan 11 1898

CHILTON, THOMAS B.—18 5,7½ Oct 19 1861 dis wds Aug 4 1862 Re-enl D 12 V R C dis disa Nov 2 1863 Hermon N Y

CHILTON, WILLIAM A.—19 5,7½ Oct 19 1861 m o May 23 1863 died Aug 20 1867

COFFIN, NELSON, Jr.—18 5,7 Oct 24 1861 wd m o May 22 1863 Soldiers' Home Johnson City Tenn

DART, DANIEL—32 5,9 Aug 15 1862 tr B 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 Fine N Y

DART, MAYNARD H.—21 5,11 Oct 24 1861 dis disa Dec 28 1862 Montreal Canada

DEAN, WILLIAM M.—21 5,11 Oct 21 1861 dis disa May 14 1862 Re-enl E 124 N Y corp m o May 26 1865 De Grasse N Y

ELLSWORTH, EDMOND A.—22 5,6 May 16 1861 killed June 27 1862

FETTERLY, EDWARD—42 5,6 Sept 22 1862 tr I 121 N Y wd m o June 25 1865 died June 3 1883

FIELDSON, WILLIAM—20 5,11½ Oct 14 1861 wd m o May 22 1863 died Mar 17 1903

FISHER, NATHANIEL—21 6,3 Oct 24 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl B 11 N Y cav m o Sept 30 1865 died 1905

GALLOWAY, GEORGE D.—20 5,9 July 27 1861 m o May 22 1863 died Feb 21 1864

GREEN, JAMES, Jr.—20 5,11 Oct 15 1861 died disa Nov 1 1862

GRENIER, EDMOND—18 5,7 Aug 23 1862 tr E 121 N Y died wds Oct 25 1864

HAILE, ALONZO—19 5,7 Oct 19 1861 wd m o May 22 1863 died Feb 10 1885

HEATH, FRANCIS P.—31 6 Oct 19 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl D 16 Iowa m o July 9 1865 Rolla Mo

HILL, CHARLES H.—21 5,7 Oct 19 1861 dis disa Mar 1 1862 Chicago Ills

HYDE, FREEMAN—23 5,9 May 19 1861 died disa Feb 6 1863

KANOFF, JACOB O.—22 5,10 Aug 1 1861 dis disa Feb 12 1862 Re-enl U S N A 29 Ohio inft m o June 5 1865 Soldiers' Home Grand Island Neb

LEWIS, SOLOMON—21 5,7¾ Oct 19 1861 desr Oct 19 1862 reported under President's proclamation m o June 12 1865 Soldier's Home Marshalltown Ia

MATOON, JAMES—43 5,9¾ Oct 19 1861 died disa July 2 1862

MATOON, JOHN—19 5,9¾ Oct 19 1861 killed May 3 1863

MERRITT, ANSEL W.—33 5,8 Oct 19 1861 dis disa Jan 12 1863 died Feb 17 1899

MUMMERY, FRANCIS—21 5,6¼ Oct 9 1861 killed May 7 1862

POOR, CHARLES—21 5,6 Oct 24 1861 dis disa May 27 1862 Rensselaer Falls N Y

RAVEN, GEORGE P.—21 5,8½ Oct 21 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl B 193 N Y dis disa Aug 1 1865 Kamloops British Columbia

READ, L. JONES—30 5,9¼ Oct 19 1861 m o May 22 1863 died Oct 28 1902

ROBINSON, FRANCIS—24 5,7¼ Oct 21 1861 dis disa May 31 1862 Re-enl K 14 N Y H Art m o Aug 26 1865 died 1890

ROULSTON, DAVID—21 5,9 Oct 24 1861 died disa Mar 29 1863

RUSSELL, DANIEL E.—26 5,7 Oct 26 1861 died disa Aug 4 1862

SEABURY, CALEB M.—25 5,10½ Oct 24 1861 killed May 7 1862

SEMPIER, JAMES—23 5,8 Oct 21 1861 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl A 14 N Y H Art tr to co L 1st sergt died June 20 1864 of wds received June 17 1864

TATE, ALEXANDER—27 5,8 June 11 1861 tr to co I Apr 1 1862 see I roster

THOMPSON, JOHN R.—18 5,10 May 16 1861 died wds Mar 13 1863

WALKER, ROBERT—22 5,11 Oct 26 1861 died disa Nov 23 1862

WELLS, OLIVER—24 5,7½ Sept 13 1861 dis wds Nov 19 1862 died May 15 1899

Average age $21\frac{8}{13}$ years

Average height 5 feet 8⅝ inches

COMPANY H

Captains

GIBSON, WARREN—42 5,6 resd wds Oct 14 1862 died Jan 18 1887

HOPKINS, WILSON—26 5,6 1st lt B capt Oct 14 1862 m o May 22 1863 Bloomer Wis

First Lieutenants

BARNARD, ALANSON M.—31 5,11 killed June 27 1862

LAFONTAINE, PETER—35 5,11 1st sergt E 2 lt Mar 20 1862 1st lt H June 27 1862 resd disa Oct 7 1862 died Aug 4 1902

Second Lieutenants

TUCKER, ARCHIBALD S.—33 5,10 resd disa June 27 1861 died June 29 1904

WEBSTER, SAMUEL W.—39 5,4 pvt 2 lt June 20 1861 resd disa Feb 22 1862 died Aug 12 1900

Sergeants

NOWLAND, WILLIAM—25 5,10½ killed Sept 14 1862

CLARK, FRANCIS V.—27 5,8 dis disa Sept 8 1861 Bridgeport Conn

COON, ROSWELL B.—20 5,8 corp sergt died wds June 10 1863

ELLMORE, OREN W.—36 5,4½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl A 14 N Y H Art m o Aug 26 1865 died June 2 1883

HAMILTON, JAMES M.—23 5,10 corp sergt m o May 22 1863 Re-enl M 6 N Y H Art died Jan 30 1864 on account of injuries received on a military train and in line of duty

LEWIS, DAVID J.—23 5,9½ pvt corp m o May 22 1863 died Oct 19 1866

BRECKENRIDGE, JAMES F.—22 5,11 pvt corp m o May 22 1863 Re-enl 35 ind bat N Y L Art tr to A 16 N Y H Art m o Aug 30 1865 Poughkeepsie N Y

Corporals

GURLEY, JAMES—21 5,8⅝ died wds July 15 1862

MCALLISTER, DAVID—33 5,10 died disa Sept 29 1862

PAGE, PERCIVAL P.—18 5,10½ killed May 3 1863

DURKEE, HARRIS R.—20 6,1 wd m o May 22 1863 Waupon Wis

OSGOOD, LEROY B.—21 5,10 wd m o May 22 1863 Oakland Cal

WALSTON, RUFUS—21 5,10 wd m o May 22 1863 died April 4 1899

Musicians

MARSH, JOEL M.—18 5,5 died disa Feb 4 1862

SALLS, DANIEL—24 5,5 dis disa Aug 7 1862 Re-enl M 6 N Y H Art died Jan 30 1864 on account of injuries received on a military train and in line of duty

SUMNER, CLARK H.—21 5,5 m o May 22 1863 died Aug 17 1898

Privates

ADAMS, LORENZO—19 5,8½ dis wds Nov 22 1863 died — — 1870

BEDELL, EARL—36 5,9⅜ dis disa Jan 10 1862 died May 12 1862

BELL, JOHN—26 5,8 killed June 27 1862

BERRY, CHARLES H.—19 5,4 dis wds Nov 22 1862 Re-enl F 25 Wis m o June 13 1865 La Crosse Wis

BRADLEY, CHESTER A.—20 5,10 dis writ H C June 24 1861 Re-enl D 7 Vt m o Mar 14 1866 dead

BRINNING, JOHN—38 5,10 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl M 6 N Y H Art m o Aug 24 1864 died Mar 2 1866

BROWN, GEORGE M.—27 5,7 dis disa June 6 1861 Re-enl unassd 13 N Y cav died disa Oct 26 1864

BUSH, JOSEPH—21 5,6½ dis disa June 17 1861 Re-enl I 14 N Y H Art corp died disa May 18 1864

COLLINS, DANIEL—19 5,8 m o May 22 1863 Lohrville Ia

CONVERSE, JEREMIAH F.—27 5,10 wd m o May 22 1863 Woodlawn Ore

COON, JOTHAM A.—23 5,5½ dis disa Jan 24 1862 Re-enl U S N Winthrop N Y

COOPER, ORVILLE—21 5,4 killed Sept 14 1862

CORBIN, CASSIUS R.—25 5,7 wd m o May 22 1863 Stockholm Centre N Y

CRUIKSHANK HUGH, Jr.—23 5,9 dis disa June 6 1861 Olympia Wash

DANIELS, MARTIN W.—27 5,11 died disa June 10 1861

DOWNEY, ROBERT S.—23 5,4 killed June 27 1862

EDWARDS, GEORGE—45 5,9 dis disa June 6 1861 Re-enl F 92 N Y dis disa Nov 20 1862 died Dec 26 1876

ELDRIDGE, OREN—21 5,9 m o May 22 1863 Brasher Falls N Y

FINCH, WILLIAM H.—20 5,4 m o May 22 1863 North Tonawanda N Y

GAFFNEY, BARNHARD—20 5,6½ dis disa June 17 1861 died 1902

GRAVES, IRA R.—21 5,5 m o May 22 1863 died 1890

HAMMOND, WILLIAM—18 6 killed Sept 14 1862

HAYES, JAMES—27 5,6 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl E 14 N Y H Art m o June 17 1865 paroled P of W dead

HAYWOOD, EBEN A.—19 5,11 died disa Sept 23 1861

HURLBURT, DARWIN A.—18 5,6 dis wds Feb 10 1863 Re-enl L 1st N Y L Art m o Aug 1 1865 died Mar 1903

IRISH, CORTES D.—21 5,7½ dis disa Nov 3 1862 Brookdale N Y

KIMBERLY, ALEXANDER D.—27 5,6 1st sergt dropped Oct 15 1862 comd 2 lt Dec 9 1862 not mustered rejoined co May 12 1863 from hospital m o May 22 1863 as pvt Soldiers' Home Milwaukee Wis

LACOURSE, JACOB—22 5,7 dis disa June 14 1861 Re-enl E 92 N Y tr to 96 N Y m o Mar 4 1865 dead

LAUBER, NELSON—18 5,7½ m o

May 22 1863 Re-enl U S N Fort Jackson N Y

LOCK, ANDREW J.—23 5,9½ dis disa June 14 1861 Re-enl in same co Oct 21 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl M 6 N Y H Art m o June 6 1865 died July 16 1903

MCEWEN, NELSON—23 5,7 dis disa May 24 1862 Oakland Cal

MAGINN, LAUGHLIN F.—21 5,5 wd m o May 22 1863 died Mar 23 1891

MERRILL, WILLIS—19 5,9 dis disa Jan 9 1863 West Stockholm N Y

MILLER, CORNELIUS—26 5,4 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl A 92 N Y tr to G 96 N Y m o Feb 6 1866 Massena N Y

NORTON, WILLIAM W.—18 5,11½ wd m o May 23 1863 Saginaw Mich

PEARCE, JAMES—22 5,7 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl G 14 N Y H Art m o May 8 1865 Stark N Y

PELSUE, NEWELL C.—23 5,6 m o May 22 1863 North Stockholm N Y

REED, STEPHEN L.—24 5,11½ dis disa June 17 1861 Re-enl in same co Sept 12 died disa July 17 1862

REYNOLDS, JAMES—25 5,5 dis disa June 6 1861 Re-enl E 92 N Y dis disa Oct 1 1862 dead

RICHARDS, HIRAM S.—25 5,9 died disa Nov 18 1861

ROCKWOOD, LEVI—39 5,8 dis disa June 6 1861 Re-enl F 92 N Y dis disa July 23 1862 died Oct 20 1903

ROSS, ROSWELL, Jr.—18 5,6 dis wds Aug 4 1862 Soldiers' Home Danville Ills

RUNIONS, JOHN—22 5,4 died disa Dec 10 1861

RUSSELL, ISAAC A.—24 5,7 died disa Nov 19 1861

SARTWELL, LEVI—26 5,4⅛ dis wds Oct 25 1862 died June 12 1876

SHARP, HENRY—18 5,4½ dis wds Sept 25 1862 Stafford N Y

SMITH, GEORGE E.—22 5,6 died disa Aug 1 1862

SPEARS, CHARLES D.—24 5,6 wd m o May 22 1863 died July 20 1862

STORES, HENRY D.—18 5,6 killed May 3 1863

STRONG, GEORGE W.—18 5,6 killed May 3 1863

THAYER, MOSES A.—21 5,7 dis wds Nov 10 1862 died Oct 6 1875

TRUSSELL, NELSON L.—21 5,5 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl A 14 N Y H Art sergt wd 2 lt Mar 1 1865 comd 1st lt April 29 1865 (not mustered) m o Aug 26 1865 Rensselaerville N Y

WILKINS, EPHRAIM—21 5,6 m o May 23 1863 Re-enl M 13 N Y cav m o June 30 1865 died Sept 7 1887

WILKINS, GEORGE L.—18 5,6 dis wds Dec 13 1862 Re-enl B 14 N Y H Art corp m o July 10 1865 P of W died Oct 1 1875

WILKINS, RILEY E.—24 5,4 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl E 14 N Y H Art m o Aug 10 1865 North Stockholm N Y

WOLCOTT, WILLARD J.—21 5,4 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl E 14 N Y H Art m o Aug 10 1865 died Mar 3 1888.

WRIGHT, GEORGE A.—18 5,9½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl A 14 N Y H Art corp dis wds Feb 9 1865 died Mar 20 1896

RECRUITS

First Lieutenant

COZZENS, NELSON Z.—23 5,11 enl Oct 7 1862 sergt 1st lt Dec 18 1862 to rank Oct 7 1862 wd m o May 22 1863 Callahan Colo

Second Lieutenants

HAMILTON, FRANK H.—23 5,7 appt Mar 20 1862 resd disa Sept 13 1862 died 1869

BROWN, CHARLES A.—19 5,7 enl in co I Sept 5 1861 sergt 2 lt assd to H Sept 13 1862 m o May 22 1863 died April 2 1891

Sergeant

ENGLEHART, FRANCIS A.—42 5,11 enl June 24 1861 sergt same day dis wds Nov 18 1862 died 1905

Corporal

MOSES, JOEL F.—36 5,4½ enl Oct 14 1861 wd m o May 22 1863 died June 17 1896

Privates

ALLEN, CYRUS N.—18 5,8½ Sept 12 1861 dis disa Mar 3 1863 Re-enl A 14 N Y H Art Sept 24 1863 dead

ARNOLD, ALVIN—38 6,1½ Mar 29 1862 dis disa April 4 1863 died Nov 9 1894

BIGELOW, ISAAC A.—39 5,7½ Sept 12 1861 dis disa Dec 8 1862 Re-enl G 14 N Y H Art q m sergt dis disa July 8 1865 died June — 1889

BLOTCHLEY LORENZO P.—24 5,11 Sept 17 1862 desr Mar 7 1863 dead

CARPENTER, WINFIELD S.—21 5,7 Sept 22 1862 desr Mar 27 1863 was a desr from A 60 N Y to which he returned dead

CROCKER, JEDIDIAH—44 5,4 Aug 29 1862 tr to F 121 N Y died Nov 24 1864 P of W

DONIVAN, ANDREW—19 5,11 Aug 29 1862 wd tr to K 121 N Y Mar 25 1865 died Nov 2 1881

DOUD, BAILEY—32 5,4 Oct 9 1861 dis disa Nov 8 1862 died May 22 1868

FOLSOM, HENRY C.—27 5,7½ Oct 8 1861 dis wds Nov 22 1862 Foxboro Mass

GILCHRIST, JAMES—19 5,5½ June 24 1861 killed June 27 1862

HAGGERTY, EDWARD—20 5,10½ Mar 28 1862 died disa July 21 1862

HEATH, BENJAMIN F.—19 5,7½ Sept 12 1861 tr from co C Nov 3 1861 dis wds April 7 1863 died Dec 17 1902

HEATH, SAMUEL—26 5,7¾ Sept 12 1861 tr from co C Nov 3 1861 m o May 22 1863 died Sept 9 1884

HOIT, URIAH—21 5,6 Oct 21 1861 dis Sept 1 1862 acdly wd Re-enl A 17 Vt 1st sergt m o July 14 1865 dead

HUTCHINSON, CYRUS B.—34 6,1 Aug 24 1862 tr to A 121 N Y dis wds Sept 25 1864 dead

KENNEN, HENRY—20 5,6 June 13 1861 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl I 3 Mass H Art m o Sept 26 1865 Norfolk N Y

KING, ADOLPHUS—28 5,3 Mar 3 1862 tr C 121 N Y m o Mar 3 1865 ex of service died Dec 5 1901

LEWIS, RUFUS E.—18 5,10 Aug 29 1862 died disa Dec 6 1862

MAGINN, JOHN W.—22 5,5½ Oct 10 1861 killed Sept 14 1862

MERRILL, WILLIAM H.—22 6 Sept 5 1862 dis disa Dec 2 1862 Re-enl M 6 N Y H Art 1st sergt m o July 21 1865

MILLS, ALEXANDER—22 5,11 Aug 20 1862 wd tr to A 121 N Y dis disa Feb 16 1864 died Sept 20 1895

MURRAY, HORACE H.—19 5,9 Aug 20 1862 wd tr to H 121 N Y killed May 10 1864

MURRAY, ORMAN—36 5,8 Sept 2 1862 wd killed May 3 1863

NICHOLSON, PETER—27 5,8 Sept 10 1862 tr to A 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 Chewelah Wash

NOWLAND, THOMAS—24 5,7½ Oct 21 1861 died disa Dec 29 1861

O'BRIEN, JOHN—21 5,7½ Jan 31 1862 tr to C 121 N Y m o Feb 1 1865 ex of service dead

PAGE, LORENZO—18 5,7 Oct 21 1861 m o May 1863 Re-enl K 6 N Y H Art m o June 26 1865 West Stockholm N Y

RYAN, JOHN—28 5,8 Nov 19 1861 desr Aug 24 1862 dead

SALLS, SAMUEL F.—19 5,6 Oct 12 1861 dis disa Aug 7 1862 Re-enl band 3 brig 2 div 20 army corps m o June 12 1865 died April 10 1904

SHUFELT, EDWIN—18 5,4 Sept 3 1862 tr to F 121 N Y tr to B 22

V R C m o July 3 1865 Canton S Dak

SIMONS, DANIEL—18 5,4 June 12 1861 desr July 1 1861 dead

SMITH, MARSHALL W.—19 5,11 Aug 29 1862 dis disa April 26 1863 dead

WEBSTER, LUMAN W.—18 5,6 Oct 21 1861 dis disa Mar 3 1863 died Dec 29 1888

WILKINS, WILLIAM H.—18 5,8 Sept 5 1862 dis wds May 23 1863 Ogdensburg N Y

Average age 24 2/12 years

Average height 5 feet 7 8/8 inches

COMPANY I

Captains

SEAVER, JOEL J.—38 5,10 major Nov 11 1861 see field roster

VAN NESS, PETER L.—42 5,9 1st lt co A capt Nov 11 1861 resd disa Dec 6 1862 Re-enl 13 N Y cav died Aug 16 1891

HILLIKER, CHARLES M.—22 5,7 sergt 1st sergt 2 lt Nov 19 1861 capt Dec 6 1862 m o May 22 1863 Kankakee Ills

First Lieutenant

WEAD, FREDERICK F.—25 5,7 lt col 98 N Y Aug 9 1862 col Mar 4 1864 killed June 3 1864 Cold Harbor Va

Second Lieutenants

ROBERTS, MILTON E.—22 5,6 resd Nov 19 1861 Re-enl H 1st N Y Engs sergt m o Feb 21 1865 Chateaugay N Y

HINMAN, ENOS—25 5,10 sergt 2 lt Dec 6 1862 m o May 22 1863 Malone N Y

Sergeants

MOORE, E. ALLEN—21 5,9½ 1st sergt dis disa June 12 1861 Re-enl dead

BENNETT, ZEBULON—31 5,6½ dis disa Sept 6 1861 Re-enl H 1st N Y Engs corp m o Feb 4 1865 died Oct 7 1872

MANNIX, TIMOTHY B.—21 5,6 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl A 2 Mass Art m o June 2 1865 Helmsville Mont

SMITH SWIFT B.—21 5,7½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl G 2 Conn H Art corp sergt 1st sergt m o Aug 18 1865 died Sept 1 1899

MURRAY, WILLIAM J.—25 5,5¾ corp wd m o May 22 1863 died 1866

FLETCHER, GEORGE—21 5,9½ corp m o May 22 1863 Lake Odessa Mich

Corporals

BRYANT, ALEXANDER P.—21 5,6½ dis disa Nov 7 1861 died Oct 6 1886

REILEY, MARTIN—21 5,5½ dis wds Feb 24 1863 Re-enl E 14 N Y H Art 1st sergt July 30 1865 died Jan — 1886

LORD, WILLIAM A. H.—20 5,6¾ wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl C 14 N Y H Art corp m o Aug 26 1865 Malone N Y

HATCH, SILAS W —20 5,5 m o May 23 1863 died Sept 21 1872

ELLIS, HENRY H.—21 5,5 wd m o Nov 3 1863 to date May 22 1863 Ticonderoga N Y

Musicians

GRANT, ARTHUR M.—21 5,7½ tr to K 18 N Y June 24 1861 sergt 2 lt June 27 1862 m o May 28 1863 Los Angeles Cal

BOSTON, DANIEL WILLIAM—32 5,5¼ fife major May 1 1862 see n c s roster

Privates

AMIDON, MARSHALL—33 5,5½ m o May 22 1863 Northfield Vt

ARCHAMBEAUT, ALBERT—21 5,4½ desr July 19 1861 dead

BAKER, HIRAM—32 5,7¾ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl F 18 N Y cav m o May 31 1866 died Mar 12 1899

BARBER, WILLIAM W.—28 5,9½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 47 N Y m o Aug 30 1865 died Mar 7 1902

BARNUM, ALBERT—21 5,10½ died disa Oct 8 1861

BASSETT, ASA—18 5,8 killed May 3 1863

BASSETT, SYLVANUS—21 5,7½ m o wd May 22 1863 Re-enl B 193 N Y dis disa Sep 14 1865 died Dec 30 1882

BEEMAN, WILLIAM—29 5,10 died disa Jan 24 1862

BENNETT, ANDREW—23 5,7½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl F 16 Wis corp m o July 12 1865 died Feb 4 1904

BIGELOW, DOUGLAS C.—21 5,4½ killed May 3 1863

BRADFORD, ALFRED—21 5,5½ dis disa July 28 1862 dead

BRADFORD, ROBERT—25 5,6½ dis disa June 4 1862 died April 1870

BUGBEE, CHARLES W.—25 5,7 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 13 N Y cav tr to co L 1st sergt tr to C 3 N Y Prov cav m o Sept 21 1865 Taloga Okla

BULLIS, EZRA S.—21 5,7 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl 5 U S cav sergt-major m o Sept 15 1869 Cleveland Ohio

CALLAHAN, MARTIN—20 5,7½ m o May 22 1863 died Jan 14 1888

CARPENTER, FREDERICK—19 5,6½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl K 7 N Y H Art m o June 28 1865 Orleans Neb

CLIFFORD, RICHARD—22 5,6¾ dis disa May 28 1862 Re-enl in same co Aug 30 1862 tr to I 121 N Y May 4 1864 Re-enl B 5 Md m o Sept 1 1865 New Bedford Mass

COATS, GEORGE—19 5,6 m o May 22 1863 dead

COYNE, JAMES—18 5,6½ wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 5 Vt dis wds Jan 5 1865 New York City N Y

DOWNS, PETER—22 5,7 died disa Mar 23 1862

ELLIS, NORMAN—25 5,5 died disa Feb 1 1862

ENWRIGHT, JOHN—19 5,6½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl U S N dead

EVEREST, BYRON E.—18 5,3¾ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 63 N Y corp m o as supernumerary on consolidation with 97 N Y Re-enl B 193 N Y m o Jan 18 1866 Malone N Y

FOLSOM, LUTHER—18 5,8½ killed June 27 1862

FULLER, SIDNEY—23 5,8½ dis disa June 18 1862 dead

GONIER, ISAAC—21 5,6½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl L 18 N Y cav m o May 31 1866 died Feb 1 1901

GRAVELL, EDWARD—24 5,7¼ killed June 27 1862

GREENO, CHARLES L.—21 5,2¾ m o May 22 1863 dead

GRIFFIN, ALVIN—20 5,8½ dis disa Oct 1 1861 died July 4 1862

HARRICA, JASPER—24 5,6½ died disa Dec 30 1861

HATCH, JAMES B.—28 5,2¾ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl I 13 N Y cav tr to E 3 N Y Prov cav m o Sept 21 1865 died Oct 3 1892

HILLIARD, MINER—18 5 7¾ wd tr Dec 15 1862 to L 2 U S cav m o Jan 5 1868 died Nov 13 1902

HOWLETT, THOMAS—20 5,8 dis writ H C June 13 1861 dead

HUBBARD, OZRO N.—18 5,6¾ wd m o July 7 1863 died Mar 10 1872

HUGABOOM, CORNELIUS—22 5,6¼ wd m o June 9 1863 Clarksburg Cal

HUNTLEY, MYRON—21 5,9 dis disa June 15 1861 Chateaugay Lake N Y

KELLEY, AMAZIAH—21 5,5¾ wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl C 91 N Y died wds April 28 1865

LALIME, EUSEBE—21 5,7¾ wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 98 N Y sergt m o Aug 31 1865 died July 4 1900

LEE, WILLIS—19 5,6½ wd m o May 22 1863 died May 4 1865

MCDONALD, WILLIAM H.—21 5,7¼ dis disa Aug 6 1861 dead

MCKEON, THOMAS—23 5,9¼ dis disa Sept 5 1861 Re-enl C 98 N Y killed June 3 1864

OWENS, CHAUNCEY—19 5,5½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl C 14 N Y

H Art corp died disa June 25 1864 P of W

PARKS, ALBERT—21 5,6¼ dis disa Mar 9 1862 St. Regis Falls N Y

ROBINSON, JOHN—21 5,6¾ m o May 22 1863 died June 26 1892

ROLLINS, SAMUEL M.—21 5,6¾ dis disa Jan 30 1863 Fairchild Wis

ROYCE, OSCAR S. R.—21 5,9¾ died disa Oct 4 1861

RUSSELL, DAVID C. J.—21 5,7 tr from K 18 N Y June 24 1861 tr to co G April 1 1862 see G roster Chicago Ills

SANCOMB, JULIUS—18 5,8½ dis disa Mar 9 1862 Re-enl E 98 N Y m o Aug 31 1865 died Aug — 1895

SINCLAIR, ALBERT M.—23 5,5¾ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl C 9 Vt died disa Jan 11 1864

SLATTERLY, JOHN—23 5,6¼ killed June 27 1862

SMITH, GEORGE W.—23 5,3¾ dis disa Mar 9 1862 dead

STAFFORD, JOHN H.—21 5,8 tr to co A June 17 1861 see A roster

STEWART, AMHERST T.—36 5,8¾ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl M 18 N Y cav m o May 31 1866 died May 29 1902

SULLIVAN, THOMAS—22 5,9¼ wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl E 14 N Y H Art sergt m o Aug 26 1865 died Mar 16 1901

SYLVESTER, WALLACE W.—19 5,5½ killed June 27 1862

TREFREN, NEIL—21 5,6 dis disa Mar 14 1863 Re-enl B 1st Vt H Art m o June 24 1865 New Lisbon Wis

WEYMS, DAVID—34 5,7½ dis Nov 11 1861 Re-enl in Art dead

WHITEHOUSE THOMAS S.—23 5,8¾ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl G 13 N Y cav tr to K 24 regt V R C Bloomville Wis

WHITTON, WOODBURY—21 5,9½ dis disa Mar 10 1862 Re-enl 1st N Y ind battery m o May 30 1865 died April 6 1895

WING, JOHN—18 5,5¾ m o May 22 1863 died May 30 1864

RECRUITS

First Lieutenant

GLEASON, SAMUEL W.—35 5,8¾ enl Sept 27 1861 1st lt Aug 9 1862 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl E 60 N Y m o June 23 1865 died Nov 17 1905

Sergeants

BROWN, CHARLES A.—18 5,7 Sept 5 1861 2 lt Sept 13 1862 see H roster

CUNNINGHAM, RUSSELL J.—23 5,8½ June 24 1861 sergt 1st sergt wd m o May 22 1863 Chasm Falls, N Y

Corporals

WHITEHOUSE, JOHN C.—21 5,6 June 24 1861 killed June 27 1862

POWELL, HORATIO C.—33 5,2 Oct 5 1861 dis disa July 18 1862 died Oct 15 1884

BERRY, WILMOT J.—21 5,6½ Sept 20 1861 tr to F 121 N Y m o Oct 5 1863 ex of service died Nov 3 1903

REYNOLDS, JOSEPH H.—25 5,5¼ Sept 23 1861 tr to B 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 died Nov 14 1865

FISK, DARIUS N.—24 6 Oct 4 1861 tr to C 121 N Y m o Oct 5 1863 ex of service died Dec 9 1868

Privates

BABCOCK, JOHN—25 5,5 Oct 1 1861 dis disa Nov 1 1862 Crown Point N Y

BEATY, JASPER A.—25 5,11 Aug 30 1862 tr to G 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 U S N died May 31 1905

BEEMIS, JONATHAN—26 5,6¾ Sept 28 1861 dis disa Jan 28 1863 Malone N Y

BEEMIS, SIMON E.—21 5,6½ Sept 28 1861 tr to F 121 N Y m o Sept 20 1863 ex of service died Dec 22 1896

BRACY, JOHN—27 5,9 Sept 6 1862 dis disa Feb 28 1863 Manchester N H

CARR, HENRY—18 5,6 Sept 23 1862 wd tr to I 121 N Y m o Oct 5

1863 ex of service Re-enl G 14 N Y H Art corp sergt m o Aug 26 1865 died June 17 1904

CARR, JOHN S.—22 5,7 Sept 23 1861 died wds July 20 1863

CLARK, WILLIAM—22 5,7¾ Sept 30 1861 dis disa May 29 1862 Re-enl B 10 Vt corp m o June 22 1865 died July 12 1879

CONGER, AMBROSE A.—21 5,5½ Oct 4 1861 dis disa July 15 1863 dead

COTA ALEXANDER—18 5,7 Oct 4 1861 died disa Mar 3 1862

DENIO, CHARLES—20 5,5 Sept 25 1861 wd tr to C 121 N Y tr to 42 co 1st bat V R C m o Sept 29 1863 ex of service Constable N Y

EDGERLY, DAVID—24 5,6 Sept 27 1861 tr to F 121 N Y m o Oct 5 1863 ex of service Re-enl 6 N Y ind battery m o July 8 1865 Stephenson Mich

FARNEFF, JOSEPH—18 5,7 Sept 16 1861 dis disa May 19 1863 died Mar 4 1899

FULHAM, JAMES—40 5,6 Sept 20 1861 tr to F 121 N Y m o Oct 5 1863 ex of service Re-enl U S N dead

GAREN, MICHAEL—22 5,6 Aug 30 1862 desr April 29 1863 dead

GRAVES, MYRON—22 6 Aug 27 1861 dis disa Nov 3 1862 Lakeview Cal

GREGORY, WILLIAM E.—18 5,8½ June 24 1861 dis disa July 22 1862 Soldiers' Home Danville Ills

HARRICA, PATRICK—18 5,6 Sept 20 1861 dis disa Nov 28 1861 Chateaugay N Y

HOAG, THOMAS—21 5,6½ Sept 30 1861 dis disa Mar 8 1862 Re-enl G 118 N Y m o June 13 1865 died Aug 25 1902

HOWELL, ABRAM—21 5,7¾ Sept 23 1861 tr to I 121 N Y dis disa July 23 1863 died — — 1866

HUBBARD, GEORGE W.—30 5,8 Aug 30 1862 tr to I 121 N Y dis June 25 1865 par P of W Tustin Cal

HUNTINGTON, CORNELIUS—18 5,6 Sept 27 1861 dis wds Nov 22 1862 Re-enl H 13 N Y cav sergt tr to F 3 N Y Prov cav m o Sept 21 1865 died Aug 23 1893

JONES, ROYAL—20 5,8 Aug 30 1862 tr to I 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 died Aug 1 1902

KELLEY, JOHN—18 5,8½ Sept 16 1861 tr to F 121 N Y m o Sept 22 1863 ex of service Rutland Centre Vt.

LAUGHLIN, JAMES—21 5,7 Aug 30 1862 wd tr to K 121 N Y dis wds Mar 3 1865 Malone N Y

LOUKES, ERASMUS—19 6 Aug 21 1862 desr May 12 1863 Freeland Mich

LUTHER, RANSOM C.—19 5,10 Aug 27 1862 tr to I 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 Madison Wis

LYNCH, JAMES—18 5,8½ June 24 1861 dis disa Feb 5 1863 died Feb 14 1863

MCGUIRE, PATRICK—24 5,9½ Aug 30 1862 desr April 29 1863 Malone N Y

MCMILLAN, DANIEL T.—18 5,5 Aug 27 1861 killed May 3 1863

NEDDO, JOSEPH—28 5,5 Sept 26 1861 dis wds Nov 3 1862 Malone N Y

NEWSTEAD, WILLIAM C.—26 5,5½ Sept 28 1861 wd tr to F 121 N Y m o Oct 5 1863 ex of service died Feb 20 1896

ORMSBY, THOMAS—29 5,9¾ June 17 1861 desr Sept 24 1862 dead

PHILLIPS, BENTLEY S.—18 5,4½ Sept 23 1861 m o May 22 1863 Phelps Minn

PILLING, ABRAM P.—18 5,7 Aug 23 1862 tr to I 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 died Dec 5 1885

ROGERS, LEVI C.—22 5,6¼ Sept 28 1861 wd dropped Oct 14 1862 died 1878

ROSA, CHARLES W.—28 5,10 Aug 30 1862 captured May 3 1863 tr to 121 N Y after exchange Re-enl 23 N Y ind battery tr to L 8 N Y H Art m o June 23 1865 died Aug 9 1889

SALLINGER, WILLIAM—21 5,10 Aug 30 1862 tr to B 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 died June 11 1901

SANCOMB, LOUIS—23 5,8 Oct 4 1861 wd tr to I 121 N Y m o Oct 13

1863 ex of service Chateaugay N Y

SHIELDS, TIMOTHY—23 5,9½ Sept 23 1861 dis wds Nov 22 1862 Re-enl F 16 Wis corp sergt m o July 12 1865 Enid Okla

SMITH, DARWIN E.—44 5,7½ Sept 25 1861 dis disa Mar 8 1863 died Mar 18 1895

TATE, ALEXANDER—27 5,8 June 11 1861 tr from co G April 1 1862 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl G 13 N Y cav Mar 16 1864 dead

TRACY, HUGH—38 5,7½ Sept 28 1861 dis disa Feb 20 1862 dead

VAN HORN, FREDUS C.—24 5,5½ June 17 1861 m o May 22 1863 Soldiers' Home Noroton Conn

WHITTON, JOSEPH—44 5,8½ Oct 4 1861 dis disa Mar 9 1862 died 1894

Average age 22 11/12 years
Average height 5 feet 7 inches

COMPANY K

Captain

WOOD, WILLIAM W.—33 5,10½ m o —to date May 22 1863 died Oct 31 1905

First Lieutenants

MCFADDEN, JOHN—34 5,10 died wds Aug 8 1862

JAMISON, WILLIAM H.—38 5,9 sergt wd 1st lt Aug 8 1862 m o May 22 1863 Lima Ohio

Second Lieutenant

CARLTON, HENRY J.—22 5,10 m o May 22 1863 West Chazy N Y

Sergeants

SLOSSON, JULIUS M.—19 5,8½ dis disa April 30 1862 died Dec 9 1886

CANNON, SAMUEL—26 5,10½ wd m o May 22 1863 died Jan 20 1899

DODGE, RUFUS S.—20 5,5 m o May 22 1863 Sparta Wis

JONES, BENJAMIN F.—23 5,8½ wd m o May 22 1863 dead

NICHOLS, WILLIAM A.—25 5,8 corp wd sergt wd m o May 22 1863 West Chazy N Y

GRANT, CHARLES—23 5,10½ m o May 1863 Re-enl sergt A 13 N Y cav 1st lt m o June 23 1865 Soldiers' Home Roseburg Ore

Corporals

KETCHUM, FRANKLIN S.—20 5,6 sergt-major Oct 16 1861 see n c s roster

COOK, MARTIN—23 5,9 died wds July 4 1862

LANGFIELD, EDGAR—24 5,9½ killed June 27 1862

HAY, WESLEY—22 5,9¾ killed June 27 1862

NEVILLE, JAMES—21 5,7 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl died Sept 26 1899

ROGERS, MARTIN N.—23 5,6½ wd m o May 22 1863 died April 30 1900

DECKER, NATHAN—19 6 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl B 1st N Y L Art m o June 18 1865 East Middlebury Vt

SHARP, JOHN—32 5,6½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl G 26 N Y cav corp m o July 6 1865 Grand Rapids Mich

WITHERELL, SANFORD L.—20 5,10 wd m o May 23 1863 West Chazy N Y

COONAN, JOHN—19 5,7 wd m o May 23 1863 dead

Musicians

EELS, JOHN—26 5,8 dis disa May 16 1861 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav m o Nov 8 1865 Peru N Y

WITHERELL, HARVEY—41 5,9¾ dis disa June 6 1861 Re-enl D 96 N Y dis disa Jan 19 1862 died Nov 5 1887

STEELE, MERVIN E.—22 5,8 died disa June 3 1862

Privates

ALDRIDGE, PHILLIP—32 5,10 dis disa Oct 2 1861 Re-enl B 96 N Y dis disa Oct 2 1862 Re-enl

16 N Y cav unassd Jan 1 1864 dead

BALDWIN, GEORGE M.—18 5,5½ dis disa Sept 13 1861 died Mar 29 1894

BARNABY, SAMUEL—31 5,8½ dis disa June 7 1861 died Sept 13 1869

BEARDSLEY, LESLIE W.—20 5,4½ dis wds Jan 30 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav m o Nov 8 1865 R F D Plattsburgh N Y

BELLARD, WILLIAM—19 5,10½ desr June 4 1861 dead

BROMLEY, MARTIN—18 5,8½ wd m o May 22 1863 died May 5 1901

BRUSO, AKIN—37 5,9 m o May 22 1863 died Oct 17 1868

BUGBEE, CLAUDIUS—23 5,8 dis disa June 14 1861 Soldiers' Home Bath N Y

CARPENTER, ERASTUS L.—28 5,7½ m o May 22 1863 Peru N Y

DECHENE, HENRY—18 5,6½ killed June 27 1862

DOTY, JOSEPH Y.—44 5,6½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl C 118 N Y tr to G 96 N Y m o Feb 6 1866 died Dec 28 1882

FARRINGTON, JUSTIN—19 5,7 dis disa May 16 1861 dead

FITZPATRICK, MICHAEL—18 5,10 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl U S N died Mar 18 1887

GONYEA, JOSEPH—19 5,7 wd m o May 22 1863 Miami Fla

GONYEA, SAMUEL A.—21 5,5½ wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl A 46 N Y m o June 3 1865 Plattsburgh, N Y

GREEN, WILLIAM N.—23 5,4 m o May 22 1863 died April 3 1901

GUYNUP, WILLIAM J.—38 5,9½ dis disa June 5 1861 Re-enl in same co Aug 1 1862 died disa Nov 17 1862

HAYES, OREN E.—19 5,9¾ dis disa Jan 29 1863 Re-enl H 96 N Y corp m o Feb 6 1866 died Aug 11 1898

HEWITT, GIDEON R.—32 5,7½ wd m o May 22 1863 dead

JOY, WILLIAM T.—39 5,7 dis wds Jan 28 1863 Re-enl L 1st N Y Engs m o June 30 1865 died April 7 1877

LAPLANT, WILLIAM H.—18 5,7¼ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 1st Mo cav tr to 7 Mo cav m o Sept 1 1865 Hot Springs S Dak

LAPOINT, GILBERT—23 5,6¾ wd m o May 22 1863 Sciota N Y

MARTIN, GEORGE—21 5,8½ died disa Aug 10 1862

MAYO, HENRY—19 5,8½ wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav Nov 24 1864 died Dec 10 1898

MERRITT, EDWARD—28 5,10 dis disa May 20 1862 died July 20 1870

MONTY, MELVIN—18 5,8 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav m o Nov 8 1865 died Dec 17 1900

MORRIS, MOSES—21 5,10 dis wds May 15 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav m o Nov 8 1865 died May 31 1882

MOSS, EDGAR—18 5,8¾ dis wds Nov 22 1862 Oshkosh Wis

MOTT, JAMES—21 5,10½ m o May 22 1863 Ellenburgh Depot N Y

MYETTE, STEPHEN—38 5,9 dis disa Jan 7 1863 Re-enl H 153 N Y m o June 3 1865 Ellenburgh Depot N Y

NOAKES, MARTIN—37 5,10½ died disa Oct 24 1862

POTTER, JOHN—18 5,6 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav m o Nov 8 1865 died Aug 27 1884

PYKE, AMBROSE—18 5,11½ dis disa Oct 16 1861 Re-enl A 16 N Y cav tr to H 3 N Y Prov cav m o Sept 21 1865 Adams Mass

RECORD, JULIUS—18 6 wd m o May 22 1863 Chazy N Y

REMO, LEWIS—18 5,6 wd m o June 4 1863 Rutland Vt

RENNELL, LEWIS E.—19 5,8¾ died disa Dec 1 1862

RENNELL, MARTIN V.—22 5,7½ dis disa May 16 1861 Re-enl D 1st Vt m o June 21 1865 died Dec 7 1902

RICHARDS, WILLIAM S.—26 5,5 died disa June 5 1861

RICHARDSON, SIDNEY L.—20 5,8 died disa Dec 1 1862

RICHEY, ROBERT—21 5,7 dis disa May 16 1861 Re-enl in same co Sept 30 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav m o Nov 8 1865 dead

RICHEY, WILLIAM—22 5,11 dis disa May 16 1861 Re-enl in same co Sept 30 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav m o Nov 8 1865 dead

RODDEN, JOSEPH B.—21 5,8½ m o May 23 1863 Re-enl K 153 N Y m o Oct 2 1865 Mooers N Y

RODDEN, WILLIAM—24 5,4 died wds Sept 14 1862

ROGERS, JASPER—32 5,4½ died disa Feb 26 1862

SARTWELL, MOSES H.—40 5,9 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl D 192 N Y m o Aug 28 1865 died May 27 1891

STAFFORD, PHILETUS—18 5,7 killed June 27 1862

STAFFORD, SETH—23 5,8½ m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav m o Nov 8 1865 Ellenburgh Centre N Y

STEWART, ALEXANDER—44 6,3½ dis disa May 16 1861 dead

STEWART, ANDREW—30 5,11½ dis disa Oct 2 1861 Re-enl C 91 N Y died disa July 8 1865 in service

STONE, FRANCIS—40 5,5 dis wds Jan 1 1863 died Sept 16 1889

VINCENT, DAVID—44 5,9½ dis disa Mar 18 1863 died Mar 17 1882

WELCH, MELVIN—20 5,8 dis disa Oct 7 1861 Re-enl Lynn Mass

WILLIAMS, JAMES W.—18 5,4 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl I 26 N Y cav m o July 3 1865 died May 5 1901

WOLF, WILLIAM W.—24 5,6 m o May 22 1863 Motley Minn

RECRUITS

Corporals

WATSON, ROBERT—43 5,7 May 16 1861 dis wds Mar 9 1863 died April 11 1895

PETERS, WILLIAM—24 5,6 July 26 1861 wd m o May 23 1863 Ellenburgh N Y

NICHOLS, JOHN W.—18 5,7 May 16 1861 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav m o Nov 8 1865 Lyndeboro N H

Musicians

ALBERS, ALBERT—22 5,8 June 7 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl K 91 N Y m o June 10 1865 died Jan 8 1902

Privates

BARNABY, THOMAS—27 5,4 Aug 29 1862 tr to A 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 West Chazy N Y

BRUSO, OCTOBER—18 5,5½ Aug 30 1862 tr to A 121 N Y wd m o June 25 1865 Plattsburgh N Y

BURDICK, WILLIAM W.—31 5,9 Nov 1 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl I 96 N Y captured Oct 27 1864 died P of W

BURDOW, JOSEPH—21 5,4 Aug 30 1862 killed May 3 1863

CLOUGH, ALBERT H.—21 5,5½ May 16 1861 dis disa Oct 2 1861 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav died disa July 24 1864

COX, WILLIAM—36 5,11½ Dec 9 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl B 118 N Y killed May 16 1864

CRAWFORD, WALLACE W.—19 5,3½ Feb 14 1862 dis wds July 15 1862 Re-enl B 15 Mass tr to E 20 Mass m o April 28 1865 Elmhurst Cal

DEMARS, JOHN—18 5,3 Sept 18 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav Dec 3 1863 dead

DUPREE, LOUIS—21 5,6½ Aug 29 1862 tr to A 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 East Beekmantown N Y

EVELITH, ASA—28 5,10 Sept 20 1861 died disa Nov 26 1861

GREEN, GEORGE W.—18 5,6 Oct 19 1861 dis disa Nov 27 1862 Re-enl C 9 Vt m o June 13 1865 died April 3 1905

GREEN, ROBERT N.—21 5,6½ Oct 19 1861 died disa Jan 27 1862

HAMMOND, STEPHEN—22 5,7 Nov

7 1861 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav m o Nov 8 1865 died May 1 1872

HAY, WELLINGTON—24 5,10 Sept 25 1861 dis wds Aug 22 1862 Re-enl B 5 N Y cav m o July 19 1865 Mooers Forks N Y

HINDES, HORACE H.—18 6 Nov 1 1861 dis disa July 15 1862 dead

HOUGHTALLING, ANDREW A.—23 5,8 June 25 1861 died wds Sept 18 1862

JORDANAIS, ALFRED—18 5,7 Sept 30 1861 m o May 22 1863 Re-enl I 1st N Y Engs m o July 3 1865 died Aug 4 1897

KELLEY, WILLIAM N.—30 5,5 Aug 22 1862 tr to C 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 died April 2 1905

KETCHUM, HIRAM H.—18 5,9 Sept 30 1861 dis disa Sept 10 1862 Re-enl I 1st N Y Engs m o May 30 1865 2 lt 13 U S inft Feb 23 1866 1st lt 22 U S inft July 31 1867 capt by bvt Feb 27 1890 ret major aug 11 1898 died Aug 12 1898

LADUKE, MITCHELL—30 5,9 May 16 1861 wd m o May 22 1863 dead

LAPORT, JULIUS—44 5,9 May 16 1861 dis disa Oct 16 1861 Re-enl B 92 N Y died Mar 7 1895

LOOMIS, HORACE—22 5,9½ Aug 1 1862 dropped Oct 16 1862 died Mar 25 1863

MANNING, WILLIAM H.—27 5,5 Aug 20 1862 tr to A 121 N Y sergt m o June 25 1865 Swanton Vt

MARTINO, JOSEPH—19 5,9 Aug 11 1862 tr to K 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 Pittsfield Mass

MAYO, FABIAN—23 5,7 Oct 22 1861 killed June 27 1862

MERRITT, HENRY—24 5,11 May 16 1861 wd m o May 22 1863 Re-enl E 96 N Y prin musi m o June 18 1865 Soldiers' Home Dayton Ohio

MOCK, GEORGE F.—18 5,4 Sept 23 1861 dropped Oct 15 1862 Re-enl M 1st U S cav July 30 1865 died Nov 25 1895

MUSSEY, SAMUEL—44 5,5 Nov 1 1861 dis disa May 22 1862 died Sept 1 1886

NORCROSS, FRANKLIN—18 5,7 Sept 14 1861 dis wds Jan 25 1863 Re-enl H 83 N Y tr to G 97 N Y captured Aug 19 1864 in parole camp at m o of regt dead

PLOOF, LOUIS—18 5,3¾ Sept 14 1861 dropped Oct 15 1862 Re-enl F 57 Mass Mar 29 1864 Ellenburgh Depot N Y

RICHEY, JOSEPH, Jr.—18 5,8 Sept 30 1861 m o May 22 1861 Re-enl H 2 N Y vet cav m o Nov 8 1865 died Mar 13 1886

ROBERTS, LUCIUS B.—25 5,5 Sept 17 1861 died disa Feb 2 1862

STARKEY, WILLIAM—18 5,3 Sept 14 1861 killed June 27 1862

STARKEY, WILLIS L—18 5,6 Sept 14 1861 dis wds Feb 12 1863 Fairfield Ia

STEELE, EDGAR W.—18 5,7 Oct 22 1861 tr to 3 N Y tr to 30th co 2 bat V R C m o Oct 24 1864 Mooers Forks N Y

WATSON, JAMES H.—21 5,10 Aug 20 1862 tr to A 121 N Y m o June 25 1865 Saranac Lake N Y

WEIGHTMAN, EDWIN—18 5,7 May 16 1861 killed May 3 1863

WHITE, JAMES—19 5,3 Sept 16 1861 m o May 22 1863 dead

Average age 24 5/12 years

Average height 5 feet 7¾ inches

Average Age and Height of the Sixteenth Regiment

Age 25 years. Height 5 feet 7⅞ inches

APPENDIX A

A Nominal List of Casualties in the Sixteenth New York Infantry during its term of service.

In the Battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861.

Wounded and recovered 1

Company B (1), First Lieutenant Wilson Hopkins.

In the Battle of West Point, May 7, 1862

Killed 6

Company F (3), Corporal George J. Love, Privates Edwin R. Bishop, Peter G. Ploof; Company G (3), Privates Francis Mummery, Caleb M. Seabury, William Freeman Waymouth.

Wounded and discharged 7

Company F (4), Corporal James Cook, Privates Alexander Barnhart, George C. Brownell, A. Levi Kelly; Company G (3), Privates Thomas B. Chilton, Louis Perrin, Oliver Wells.

Wounded and recovered 4

Company F (1), Private Henry M. Helms; Company G (3), Captain Newton Martin Curtis, Privates Emerson Bostwick, William E. Gore.

In the Battle of Gaines's Mill, June 27, 1862

Killed 41

Company A (1), Private James Fallon; Company B (6), Corporal Simon E. Johnson, Privates Joseph B. Chase, Francis Grennon, Adolphus McComber, Eliakim H. Sprague, Charles Worden; Company C (5), Corporal Thomas Clark, Privates Robert Collins, John Fielders, John McCafferty, Thomas Myers; Company D (1), Private Solomon Burr; Company E (7), Sergeant Perkins Havens, Privates Joseph Burnham, Henry Durkee, James Farley, Thomas Gaffney, William Hay, Francis St. Antoine; Company F (2), Privates Robert Shales, Marshall Thornton; Company G (4), Corporal Edwin T. Ellsworth, Privates Edmond A. Ellsworth, Joseph Parsons, George W. Wonless; Company H (4), First Lieutenant Alanson M. Barnard, Privates John Bell, Robert S. Downey, James Gilchrist; Company I (5), Corporal John C. Whitehouse, Privates Luther Folsom, Edward Gravell, John Slatterly, Wallace W. Sylvester; Company K (6), Corporals Edgar Langfield, Wesley Hay, Privates Henry Dechene, Fabian Mayo, Philetus Stafford, William Starkey.

Mortally wounded 17

Field (1), Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Marsh; Company B (2), Privates James A. Andrews, Adin Colon; Company C (4), Privates William H. Dominy, Wesley S. Hull, Lyman T. Ney, William Townsend; Company D (1), Private Erwin H. Barnes; Company E (3), Privates Joseph Donohue, James S. Muzzey, John A. Thompson; Company F (2), Privates Luther N. Potter, James W. Richards; Company G (1), Private John R. Thompson; Company H (1), Corporal James Gurley; Company K (2), First Lieutenant John McFadden, Corporal Martin Cook.

Wounded and discharged 58

Field (1), Colonel Joseph Howland; Company A (4), Corporal George H. Godden, Privates Samuel McBroom, Henry Merry,

John Mitchell; Company B (7), Corporal James E. Baird, Privates Alpheus Cary, Miles F. Church, Harvey Cluff, Alexander McPhee, John F. Parker, Joseph Perry; Company C (7), Corporals John Ford, Robert T. Lucas, Privates Camile Bushaw, John Lapan, Elijah G. Vogan, Orville Washburn, Marion F. Williams; Company D (1), Private James B. Skinner; Company E (10), Sergeant Henry W. Weber, Privates George W. Bradford, Andrew J. Broadwell, Vital Dano, Chauncey G. Darrah, Joseph Marion, Thomas B. Putnam, McGuire Willett, James W. Wilson, Barnard Young; Company F (2), Sergeant Bliss Halladay, Corporal Julius B. Whitney; Company G (6), Privates William H. Bell, Amos H. Dean, George H. Fleetham, William E. Gore, John McDaniel, James Parker; Company H (9), Captain Warren Gibson, Privates Lorenzo Adams, Charles H. Berry, Henry C. Folsom, Darwin A. Hurlburt, Roswell Ross, Levi Sartwell, Henry Sharp, Moses A. Taylor; Company I (4), Corporal Martin Reiley, Privates Cornelius Huntington, Joseph Neddo, Timothy Shields; Company K (7), Privates Leslie W. Beardsley, Wellington Hay, William T. Joy, Moses Morris, Edgar Moss, Franklin Norcross, Francis Stone.

Wounded and recovered 115

Staff (1), Adjutant Robert P. Wilson, A. A. A. General; Company A (14), First Lieutenant Isaac T. Merry, Sergeants Frederick A. Butler, J. Newton Carver, Corporal Henry E. Spalding, Privates John Bario, James C. Blair, Francis Brashaw, James Clement, William A. Dixon, Isaac W. Doran, James E. Norton, John McClelland, George Siddon, Philip Smith; Company B (12), Sergeant Washington Marsh, Corporal Alonzo R. Fuller, Privates Orson A. Bradley, Charles B. Call, Alfred E. Clark, Enos S. Collins, Orlando B. Page, Sherman C. Perry, Julius A. Powell, William A. Smith, William W. Thompson, Edward Vallier; Company C (12), Second Lieutenant Pliny Moore, Acting Adjutant, Corporal John H. Moffitt, Privates Leonard C. Bullis, Mitchell Bully, John J. Clark, John Garrow, Charles Lucas, Joseph Putraw, Heman Robinson, Rufus Robinson, William Thompson, Lafayette Torry; Company D (9), Sergeants William

W. Hutton, William H. Morris, J. Harvey Winslow, Corporal John M. Wing, Privates Edward Grothier, George Hill, Charles H. Jenne, Michael A. Kennedy, Alfred Thayer; Company E (13), First Lieutenant Charles H. Bentley, Sergeants George Stave, Edwin Bates, Corporals Harvey Myers, Melancthon B. Webb, Privates Peter Amore, Andrew J. Brice, David Harris, Miles Hathaway, Seymour N. How, Peter Myette, James Murphy, Albert H. Stephens; Company F (5), Captain John C. Gilmore, Sergeant William R. Helms, Privates Joseph Cardinell, Charles H. Hodgkins, Erasmus J. Sanford; Company G (9), Sergeants Andrew C. Bayne, John F. Russell, Corporal Julius C. Bishop, Privates Charles S. Blood, Nelson Coffin, George B. Elliott, Alonzo Haile, Andrew Kennedy, William Mayne; Company H (9), Corporal Leroy B. Osgood, Privates Cassius R. Corbin, Jeremiah P. Converse, Harris R. Durkee, Henry Kennen, Laughlin F. Maginn, Alexander Mills, Edgar Sartwell, Willard J. Wolcott; Company I (15), Sergeant George Fletcher, Corporal William A. H. Lord, Privates Charles W. Bugbee, Henry Carr, John S. Carr, Ambrose Conger, James Coyne, Cornelius Hugaboom, Miner Hilliard, Eusebe Lalime, Willis Lee, Levi C. Rogers, Louis Sancomb, Thomas Sullivan, Alexander Tate; Company K (16), Sergeants Samuel Cannon, William H Jamison, Corporals John Coonan, William A. Nichols, Privates Martin Bromley, Nathan Decker, Joseph Gonyea, Stephen Hammond, Gideon R. Hewitt, Benjamin F. Jones, Gilbert Lapoint, Henry Mayo, Henry Merritt, Melvin Monty, Julius Record, Martin N. Rogers.

In the Battle of Glendale, June 30, 1862

Killed 2

Company A (1), Private Levi S. Northrup; Company F (1), Private Eland A. Woodruff.

Wounded and discharged 2

Company F (2), Privates Charles Foster, Henry Holliday.

Wounded and recovered 5

Company D (1), Captain George Parker; Company E (1), Private Henry G. Lezott; Company F (1), Private Timothy Farrell; Company G (1), Private John O'Connor; Company I (1), Private Alexander Tate; Privates John Brinning and Nelson L. Trussell, Company H, were left on the picket line and captured, but were soon released.

In the Battle of Crampton's Pass, September 14, 1862

Killed 18

Company C (3), Privates Henry R. Bissell, William Dunn, Sidney L. Hare; Company D (6), Sergeant Andrew J. Lee, Corporal Charles H. Conant, Privates Thomas Brown, John S. Fradenburgh, John Pulford, G. Myron Van Ornum; Company E (1), Private Martin V. Roberts; Company F (3), Privates James D. Burdick, Giles N. Cunningham, Henry C. Washburn; Company G (1), Private Celistier Grenier; Company H (4), Sergeant William Nowland, Privates Orville Cooper, William Hammond, John Maginn.

Mortally wounded 8

Company B (1), Private Enos S. Collins; Company C (1), Private John Torry; Company D (3), Sergeant William H. Hutton, Corporal James Robertson, Private David Jones; Company F (1), James W. Richards; Company K (2), Privates Andrew A. Houghtalling, William Rodden.

Wounded and discharged 9

Company A (1), Private John Mitchell; Company B (1), Private William A. Smith; Company D (1), Sergeant Charles I. Gardner; Company G (1), Private Thomas W. Curtis; Company H (3), Sergeant Francis A. Englehart, Privates Benjamin F. Heath, George L. Wilkins; Company K (2), Corporal Robert Watson, Private Willis L. Starkey.

Wounded and recovered 28

Company A (4), Second Lieutenant Charles L. Jones, Privates John Bario, Alfred Favereau, John Harnett; Company B (5), Sergeant Jerome Eddy, Corporal Benjamin F. Baldwin, Private Henry Bottom, Roswell A. Darling, Mathew Nesbitt; Company C (4), Privates Brainard Bowen, Mitchell Bully, Smith Pine, Louis H. Larock; Company D (3), Second Lieutenant William H. Walling, Privates Alden Fairbanks, James T. McCoombs; Company E (4), Privates William R. Blair, Peter Labrick, Hiram H. Van Arnam, Melancthon B. Webb; Company F (4), Privates Joseph E. Bruce, Wellesley McCurry, Loren D. Gladden, Zimri Hodges; Company G (2), Privates William Fieldson, David C. J. Russell; Company I (2), Privates Martin Callahan, Thomas S. Whitehouse.

In the Battle of Antietam, September 17, 1862

Killed 1

Company D (1), Private William H. Wier. Mortally wounded 1. Company D (1), Corporal Charles M. Smith. Wounded and recovered 1. Company B (1), Private Alexander Noble.

In the Battle of Salem Church, May 3, 1863

Killed 24

Company A (1), Private George B. White; Company B (4), Second Lieutenant William E. Hesselgrave, Privates Mathew Nesbitt, Orlando D. Page, Charles Smith; Company C (4), Privates Miles Danforth, Ira Johnson, Heman Robinson, Seth Thomas; Company D (1), Private William Adams; Company E (2), Sergeant Edwin Bates, Private Andrew J. Brice; Company F (2), Corporal Wellesley McCurry, Private Loyal Bradish; Company G (1), Private John Matoon; Company H (4), Corporal Percival P. Page, Privates Orman Murray, Henry D. Stores,

George W. Strong; Company I (3), Privates Asa Bassett, Douglas C. Bigelow, Daniel T. McMillan; Company K (2), Privates Joseph Burdow, Edwin Weightman.

Mortally wounded 12

Company D (2), Privates Joseph C. Campbell, Thomas Hill; Company E (4), Sergeants Hiram F. Higby, Privates Joseph Bully, Andrew Gregory, Nathan Shelley; Company F (2), Privates Joseph E. Bruce, Edward Holbrook; Company G (2), Privates William H. Austin, Charles Pierce; Company H (1) Corporal Roswell B. Coon; Company I (1), Private John S. Carr.

Wounded 101

Field (1) Lieutenant Colonel Franklin Palmer; Company A (3), Privates Thomas B. Burgess, Benjamin Edgar, John Willis; Company B (9), Corporals Alva Beach, Alfred Clark, Edward Vallier, Privates Alfred Cornish, Calvin M. Dustin, Martin G. Follett, John McLaughlin, Sherman C. Perry, Orson A. Bradley; Company C (19), Sergeant William W. Christian, Corporals Edward McCarty, Silas W. Cochran, John V. Howes, Charles Lucas, Rufus Robinson, Mitchell Bully, Privates Lorenzo Downey, George W. Sevey, Herman Soper, James H. Varno, Louis Garipy, John Hilliard, William Leary, Thomas Parks, John Redmond, Stephen G. Williams, David N. Wetherby, Joshua Wilcox; Company D (10), First Lieutenant William H. Walling, Sergeant Robert B. Wilson, Corporals Theodore W. Hilts, Henry Rogers, Privates Lucius J. Ayres, John C. Clark, William I. Hicks, James T. McCombs, James McKee, Alpheus Thompson; Company E (7), Corporal Jacob Grant, Privates William R. Blair, David Harris, William Palmer, William N. Peck, Henry Shelley, Henry Sweeney; Company F (8), Sergeants Smith S. Thomas, Elrick Bangle, Corporal William Adams, Privates Joseph C. Durkee, Amos Gladden, Reuben B. Griswold, Charles H. Hodgkins, Joshua Lalone; Company G (8), Captain William L. Best, First Lieutenant Andrew C. Bayne, Sergeants Luther L. Partridge, John F. Russell, Corporal George B. Elliott, Privates

Valentine Benson, Charles S. Blood, Joseph H. Western; Company H (10), First Lieutenant Nelson Z. Cozzens, Corporals Rufus Walston, Joel P. Moses, Privates Andrew Donivan, Alexander Mills, Horace H. Murray, William W. Norton, William H. Wilkins, Charles D. Spear; Company I (14), Sergeants Russell J. Cunningham, William J. Murray, Corporal Henry H. Ellis, Privates William W. Barber, Sylvanus Bassett, Henry Carr, Charles Denio, David Edgerly, Ozro N. Hubbard, Amaziah Kelley, James Laughlin, William C. Newstead, Charles W. Rosa, Thomas S. Whitehouse; Company K (12), Corporals Martin N. Rogers, John Sharp, John Coonan, Sanford L. Witherell, John W. Nichols, William Peters, Privates Joseph Gonyea, Stephen Hammond, Mitchell Laduke, Henry Mayo, Lewis Remo, Joseph B. Rodden. Thirty-six of the wounded were captured.

Captured not wounded 17

Company A (1), Private George M. McCourt; Company B (1), Private Edmond G. Smith; Company C (3), Privates Calvin A. Collins, George Hills, Joseph W. Mooney; Company D (2), Privates Abram Jones, George H. Mouthrop; Company E (3), Privates Warren C. Dockum, Milo Hathaway, Elisha A. Phillips; Company F (1), Private Willis Shattuck; Company G (3), Privates John O'Connor, William A. Chilton, George P. Raven; Company H (1), Ephraim Wilkins; Company I (1), Private Silas W. Hatch; Company K (1), Captain William W. Wood.

APPENDIX B

Record of members of the Sixteenth in other military organizations, the Medal of Honor men, and positions held in civil life after the war.

FIELD, STAFF AND BAND

Colonel Thomas A. Davies was promoted to be brigadier-general U. S. V., and assigned to command the second division of the Army of Tennessee, then under the command of Major-General H. W. Halleck; later to command the district of Columbus; subsequently to command the district of Rolla; and afterwards to command at Leavenworth, Kan. He was promoted major-general by brevet and closed his military service in superintending the muster out of troops at Madison, Wis., after the surrender at Appomattox. On retiring from the army he engaged in large operations in real estate in New York City. He wrote a series of works on geology and on the Book of Genesis, and a treatise entitled "How to Make Money and How to Save It," which has the merit of being written by a man who knew how to practise what he taught.

Adjutant Joseph Howland was promoted captain and assistant adjutant-general U. S. V., colonel of the regiment, and brigadier-general by brevet. In 1865 he was elected treasurer of the State of New York and served two years. He declined, on the completion of his term, to accept further civil employment and devoted his time and fortune to philanthropic labors. He built and gave to the village of Matteawan, N.Y., the public library which is called by his name, and to the school district in which he resided the Tioronda school-house, reserving the upper portion for religious purposes. For fifteen years he was a manager of the Hudson River State Hospital for the Insane, and was for many years a member of the board of trustees of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, and an active member of other associations.

Surgeon William B. Crandall continued in the medical department until the close of the War, first as assistant surgeon Twenty-ninth Connecticut and later as surgeon of the Thirty-third U. S. C. T.

Assistant Surgeon John H. Mooers was promoted to be surgeon of the One Hundred and Eighteenth New York, and later appointed acting assistant-surgeon U. S. A. He was killed in battle in 1868, while fighting the Indians.

Assistant Surgeon Charles C. Murphy was promoted to be surgeon of the Twelfth New York.

Chaplain Francis B. Hall was given a Medal of Honor for "Voluntarily exposing himself to a heavy fire during the thickest of the fight, and carrying wounded men to the rear for treatment and attendance. Salem Heights, Virginia, May 3rd, 1863."

Drum-major Howard B. Utter joined the One Hundred and Forty-second New York, and was promoted second and first lieutenant.

James Spencer, Jr., member of the band, enlisted in the Twentieth New York Cavalry and was promoted to a captaincy.

Company A

First Lieutenant Oliver B. Flagg entered the Fourteenth New York Heavy Artillery, and rose to a captaincy.

Sergeant Isaac W. Doran re-enlisted in the Fourteenth New York Heavy Artillery, and was promoted to a lieutenancy.

Corporal William H. Daniels was promoted captain and assistant quartermaster U. S. V., given charge of the trains of the Sixth Corps, and breveted major. Appointed and reappointed collector of customs, district of Oswegatchie, N.Y.

Corporal Joseph Cowan was elected to the legislature of the State of Nevada.

Private Isaac O. Best entered the ministry and has been in charge of large parishes in the Mohawk Valley and in Central New York.

Private Thomas B. Burgess enlisted in the Thirteenth New York Cavalry. In the campaign of 1864 he carried an important dispatch through the enemy's lines to General Sheridan, who sent him back to his regiment escorted by a regiment of cavalry, with a request to his colonel to promote Burgess to a sergeancy.

Private Henry H. Service enlisted in the Fourteenth New York Heavy Artillery, and rose to a first lieutenancy.

Private Lore Alvord was promoted first lieutenant and captain Eighth Maine, entered upon the practice of the law in Iowa, and was elected to the legislature.

Musician William W. Bean was elected mayor of Streator, Ill., and has for many years edited *The Monitor*, an influential newspaper in that city.

Company B

Captain James M. Pomeroy was appointed major Ninth Kansas Cavalry, lieutenant-colonel V. R. C. and breveted colonel U. S. V.

First Lieutenant Edwin C. Knapp was appointed captain in the One Hundred and Ninety-third New York.

Sergeant Charles N. Munson was promoted second lieutenant and first lieutenant in the One Hundred and Sixth New York. Since the war he has been an influential business man in Missouri and California.

Private Alexander Noble re-enlisted in the First U. S. V., and was promoted to a lieutenancy in the One Hundred and Eighth U. S. C. T.

Company C

Captain Franklin Palmer was promoted major and lieutenant-colonel of the regiment. After returning home he was engaged in manufacturing iron, and has been for a number of years chairman of the board of supervisors of Clinton County.

Captain Pliny Moore raised a company of cavalry and was appointed captain in the Twenty-sixth New York Cavalry.

First Lieutenant Royal Corbin entered upon the practice of the law, and has attained a position in the first rank of his profession in the state.

Sergeant John H. Moffitt was given a Medal of Honor for "Voluntarily taking up the regimental colors after several color-bearers had been shot down, and carrying them until he himself was wounded, June 17th, 1862." He was a member of the Fiftieth and Fifty-first Congresses, and is president of a bank in Plattsburgh, N.Y.

Private John W. Matthews enlisted in the Ninety-sixth New York, and was promoted through all the grades to captain.

Company D

Captain George Parker was elected to the New York legislature, and appointed collector of customs, district of Oswegatchie.

First Lieutenant Albert M. Barney was promoted to be captain in the regiment, to be lieutenant-colonel and colonel of the One Hundred and Forty-second New York, and a brevet brigadier-general. He was appointed collector of customs, district of Brownsville, Tex.

Second Lieutenant Robert P. Wilson was promoted to be adjutant of the regiment, to be captain and A. A. General U. S. Vols.; commissioned major 121st N. Y. which he declined. Resigned on account of wounds February 1864, resumed the study of law, which he had left to join the army, and rose to prominence in the profession in Buffalo, N. Y., where he died in 1893.

First Sergeant William H. Walling was promoted to be second and first lieutenant in the regiment. Was appointed first lieutenant in the One Hundred and Forty-second New York, promoted captain, breveted major and lieutenant-colonel U. S. V., and given a Medal of Honor for the following: "During the bombardment of the fort, he captured and brought off the flag of the fort, the flag staff having been shot down. Fort Fisher, North Carolina, December 25, 1864." He was elected sheriff of St. Lawrence County, New York.

Second Lieutenant William H. Morris re-enlisted in the artillery, and was promoted to a lieutenancy in the Twentieth New York Independent Battery.

Sergeant Frederick H. Haile joined the Eighteenth New York Cavalry, and was promoted to a captaincy.

Corporal David Quill re-enlisted in the Twentieth New York Cavalry, and was promoted to a lieutenancy.

Private Jason N. Fradenburgh entered the ministry and received the degree of D.D.; he is the author of several religious works.

Private James H. Lynde re-enlisted and rose to a lieutenancy in the Fourteenth New York Heavy Artillery.

Private Michael Tio was elected sheriff of Pierce County, Wisconsin.

Company E

Captain John L. Stetson was promoted to lieutenant-colonel of the Fifty-ninth New York, and was killed while commanding his regiment in the battle of Antietam.

Captain Charles H. Bentley raised a company and was appointed captain in the Second New York Veteran Cavalry.

Private Warren C. Dockum, transferred to the One Hundred and Twenty-first New York, was given a Medal of Honor, Sailors' Creek, Virginia, April 6, 1865, for the "Capture of flag of Savannah Guards [C. S. A.], after two other men had been killed in the effort."

Company F

Captain John C. Gilmore was promoted to be major of the regiment. Appointed lieutenant-colonel One Hundred and Ninety-third New York. Appointed captain Thirty-eighth U. S. Infantry; promoted to major, lieutenant-colonel, and colonel in the adjutant-general's department U. S. A.; brigadier-general U.S.V. in Spanish War; retired brigadier-general U. S. A. He was given a Medal of Honor for "Having seized the colors of his regiment and gallantly rallied his men under a very severe fire, Salem Heights, Virginia, May 3rd, 1863."

Second Lieutenant William R. Helms joined the Fourteenth New York Heavy Artillery, and rose to a captaincy. He entered the ministry, and is a prominent member of the Black River Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church.

Private James Allen was given a Medal of Honor for "Capture of flag of Sixteenth Georgia infantry [C. S. A.], Crampton's Pass, Maryland, September 14th, 1862."

Private Joseph D. Lamb entered the ministry, and has filled pulpits in Minnesota and California.

Private Ransom Mathews enlisted in the One Hundred and Ninety-third New York, and was promoted to be second and first lieutenant.

Company G

Captain Newton Martin Curtis was promoted to be lieutenant-colonel and colonel One Hundred and Forty-second New York; brevet brigadier-general U. S. V.; commanded brigades in the Tenth, the Eighteenth and the Twenty-fourth Corps; led the assault at Fort Fisher, North Carolina; was promoted brigadier-general U. S. V. on the field, his appointment having been written on a sheet of foolscap by the Secretary of War "for gallant services in the capture of Fort Fisher"; was promoted major-general by brevet for the same action, and given a Medal of Honor for being "The first man to pass through the stockade: he personally led each assault on the traverses, and was four times wounded." After the surrender at Appomattox he was appointed chief of staff Department of Virginia, and later commander of Southwestern Virginia; was mustered out January 15, 1866. He is a member of the New York Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States; was Commander of the Department of New York, G. A. R. in 1888. Was appointed collector of customs, district of Oswegatchie; was member of New York Assembly 1884 to 1890 inclusive; was member of the Fifty-second, the Fifty-third and the Fifty-fourth Congresses. He was author of the bill in the New York legislature to establish the St. Lawrence State Hospital; author of the bill in Congress that separated the soldiers of the United States Army convicted of violations of military offences from those convicted of common law crimes; author of the bill to abolish the penalty of death for eighteen offences under Federal laws and providing for the finding by the jury in cases of murder and of rape of verdicts of "guilty without capital punishment," the two offences for which executions are still possible whenever the jury does not qualify the verdict. He had charge of the "William and Mary College bill" in the Fifty-second Congress, which gave from the Federal Treasury sixty-five thousand dollars to restore the library wantonly burned by a Federal soldier during the Civil War when within the lines of the Union Army. He is a life member of the New York Agricultural Society, and was its president in 1880; is a life member of the American Shorthorn Breeders' Association, and a life member of the Shorthorn Breeders' Association of Great Britain. He was one of the committee to locate the New York Agricultural Experiment Station at Geneva, the first secretary of the board of control of the station, and for six years its president. Since 1898 he has been an assistant inspector-general of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers.

First Lieutenant Simon C. Vedder was appointed captain and commissary of subsistence; second lieutenant Twenty-eighth U. S. Infantry; promoted to be captain and breveted major. He was retired in 1891, and died in 1892.

First Lieutenant Andrew C. Bayne was appointed captain Veteran Reserve Corps, second lieutenant Forty-second infantry U. S. A., and re-

tired on account of injuries received in service. He entered the employ of a fire insurance company, and at his death was vice-president of the Ætna Fire Insurance Company of Hartford, Conn.

Sergeant Gilman L. Johnson was appointed second lieutenant One Hundred and Forty-second New York, promoted to be first lieutenant. After his muster out was graduated from St. Lawrence University Law School, and began the practice of his profession in Iowa, where he has held various official positions, including membership in the lower house and senate of the state legislature.

Corporal James McKelvey re-enlisted in the Fourteenth New York Heavy Artillery, and was promoted to a lieutenancy.

Private Charles B. Jillson was elected to the legislature of the State of California.

Company H

Private Nelson L. Trussell re-enlisted in the Fourteenth New York Heavy Artillery, and was promoted to a lieutenancy.

Private Laughlin F. Maginn became a successful lawyer in Nebraska.

Company I

Captain Joel J. Seaver was promoted to be major, lieutenant-colonel and colonel of the Sixteenth, and brevet brigadier-general. He was elected a member of the New York Constitutional Convention of 1867. He continued to edit the *Malone Palladium* for many years after his muster out of service, and maintained its high character as a leading paper, advocating the principles of the Republican party.

First Lieutenant Frederick F. Wead was promoted to be lieutenant-colonel and colonel of the Ninety-eighth New York, and was killed while leading his regiment in the charge at Cold Harbor, Virginia, June 3rd, 1864.

Musician Arthur M. Grant was transferred to the Eighteenth New York, and was promoted to a lieutenancy.

Company K

Sergeant Charles Grant enlisted in the Thirteenth New York Cavalry and was promoted to be first lieutenant.

Private Hiram H. Ketchum was appointed second lieutenant in the Thirteenth U. S. Infantry, and rose through the grades to be major of the Twenty-second Infantry. He was retired in 1898, and died a month later.

INDEX

Confederates in Italics

Alabama Regiments:
5th Rifles, 38, 264.
6th Rifles, 43, 264.
Albany, 2, 10, 14, 19, 307, 309.
Alexandria, 33, 52, 64, 65, 74, 87, 90, 91, 156, 157, 166, 283.
Allen, J., 373.
Allen, J. S., 38.
Alvord, L., 371.
Ambulance Corps, 172–174.
Ames, A., 45.
Anderson, G. B., 112.
Anderson, R., 1.
Anderson, R. H., 180, 239, 243, 248, 256.
Andrus, A., 17.
Annandale, 38, 158.
Anthony, C., 12.
Aquia Creek, 148, 157, 218, 232, 307.
Armstrong, T., 15.
Army Commander, Qualities of, 225.
Army of the
Cumberland, 293.
North-eastern Virginia, 49.
Northern Virginia, 49, 174, 179, 195, 217, 257.
Potomac, 49, 141, 149–150, 157, 159, 164, 215–216, 217–218, 219, 224–225, 226, 257, 261, 265, 296.
Potomac, 49.
Shenandoah, 49.
Virginia, 205, 232.
Army Corps:
1st, 90, 168–169, 179–186, 217–225, 240–243, 245–249, 253, 256.
2nd, 110–111, 117, 130–134, 164, 168, 181–185, 196, 217–218, 221, 236, 241–243, 246, 252–256.
3rd, 106, 110, 112, 115, 117, 130, 137, 159, 217–218, 221, 236, 239, 240–241, 243, 245, 252, 256.
4th, 106, 110, 117, 130, 132, 140.
5th, 105, 110, 117, 130, 132, 157, 184, 195, 217–218, 233–236, 243, 253.
6th, 105, 110, 117, 130, 132, 134, 157–159, 164, 168–169, 173, 181–182, 185, 214–215, 217, 230, 245–249, 255–256, 263, 267, 290–292, 296, 299–301, 302–303.
9th, 168–169, 179, 182–183, 185, 217–218, 221, 293.
10th, 290.
11th, 217, 233–236, 238, 240, 243, 252–253, 256.
12th, 168–169, 180, 185, 189, 217, 233–238, 240–241, 243, 252, 254–256,
18th, 290.
24th, 290.
Arnold, R., 41, 299.
Average Age and Height at Enlistment, 323, 324, 328, 332, 336, 339, 343, 346, 350, 354, 358, 361.
Averell, J., 181.
Averell, W. J., 4.
Ayres, R. B., 41, 300.

Bakersville, 197–198, 200, 211, 215.
Balestier, Mrs. J. A., 280.
Baltimore, 31.
Banks, N. P., 117, 168.
Barksdale, W., 134.
Barney, A. M., 12, 81, 114, 171, 372.
Bartlett, J. J., 100, 105–106, 120, 138, 143, 155, 182, 205–209, 297, 303–304.
Bartlett, D. L., 21.

Battles:
Antietam, 179–186.
Blackburn's Ford, 40.
Bull Run, 41, 47, 49, 51, 52, 258.
Chancellorsville, 233–243.
Crampton's Pass, 167–174, 179, 181–182, 229, 303, 311.
Fair Oaks, 111–113.
Fredericksburg, 217, 220–225.
Gaines's Mill, 117–129, 200, 213, 299, 303, 311.
Garnett's Farm, 132.
Glendale, 137–140.
Malvern Hill, 140.
Marye's Heights, 245–246, 297, 301.
Peach Orchard, 132–133.
Salem Heights, 59, 245, 247–248, 266–267, 311.
Savage's Station, 134–135.
Turner's Pass, 169, 179.
West Point, 96, 303, 308.
White Oak Swamp, 135–137.
Bayne, A. C., 374.
Bean, W. W., 371.
Beauregard, G. T., 41, 46, 49.
Beckwith, B. B., 13.
Beckwith, G. M., 15.
Bee, B. R., 45.
Belle Plaine, 219, 220.
Bellows, Mrs. H. W., 280.
Bentley, C. H., 373.
Berry, H. G., 257.
Best, I. O., 371.
Bicknell, G. W., 76, 77, 139, 304.
Bidwell, D. D., 297.
Blenker, L., 42.
Bolles, W., 45.
Bottom's Bridge, 111, 119.
Bowne, C. M., 12.
Bradley, Miss S. S., 88.
Bramhall, W. M., 133.
Brick House Landing, 95.
Brooks, W. T. H., 136, 182, 245, 247, 290–292, 296, 300, 303.
Brown's Ferry, 294–295.
Brown, W. C., 4.
Buck, L. L., 190.
Bullies and Braggarts, 270.
Burgess, T. B., 371.
Burnham, H., 297.
Burnside, A. E., 41, 42, 44, 164, 168, 183, 216, 218, 221–225, 226, 247, 261–262, 295.
Burr, S., 124.
Butterfield, D., 221, 229, 234, 254.
Burwell, Miss R., 154.
Butler, Miss, 280.

Cameron Run, 35–37.
Cameron, S., 2.
Carr, D., 153.
Cary, Miss Mary, 154.
Casey, S., 111–113.
Casualties, 48, 103, 113, 127, 141, 150, 156, 169, 186, 222, 243, 249, 257, 294.
Nominal list of, 362–369.
Percentage of, 315–316.
Catlett's Station, 93, 219.
Centreville, 40–43, 158.
Cervantes, 87, 272–273.
Charleston, S.C., 1, 15.
Chase, S. P., 261.
Chazy, 16.
Cobb, A., 298.
College of William and Mary, 152, 374.
Confederate Mason, 97, 193.
Comte de Paris, 121.
Cook, J., 97, 101.
Corbin, R., 15, 279, 372.
Cornwallis, 154–155.
Corps Badges, 229
Couch, D. N., 111–112, 218, 228, 232, 236, 241–242, 253–255.
Cowan, J., 371.
Crandall, W. B., 24, 206, 305, 370.
Craig, P. O., 43.
Curtis, A. J., 175.
Curtis, N. M., 6–7, 9, 22, 55, 78–80, 90, 92, 100–102, 122, 146–147, 171, 206, 280–285, 321, 374.

Dana, C. A., 295.
Danforth, H. M., 5.
Daniels, W. H., 300, 371.
Dart, W. A., 10.
Davidson, J. W., 292.
Davies, C., 19, 201.
Davies, H. E., 19.
Davies, T. A., 19–20, 22–24, 28–35, 42–44, 53, 56–58, 60–61, 75–76, 79, 89, 201, 210, 370.
Davies, Mrs. T. A., 56–57.
Dean, A. H., 125.
Delafield, R., 19.
Depeyster, 3, 5–7, 10.
de Peyster, J. W., 163.

Democratic Party, 15, 147.
Dickinson, D. S., 62.
Dickinson, J., 254.
Dockum, W. C., 373.
Donnelly, D., 28.
Doesticks, Q. K. P., 71.
Doran, I. W., 371.
Drilling Recruits, 26.
Duane, J. C., 135.
Durkee, H. R., 131.

Eagan, P., 15.
Early, J. A., 46.
Eastman, B., 5, 7.
Elderkin, N. S., 12.
Elderkin, W. A., 44.
Elliott, W. L., 59.
Estvan, B., 128.
Ewell, R. S., 42, 46–47.

Fairfax Court House, 38.
Faison, F. J., 124.
Fifth South Carolina, 43, 264.
Fisher, C. F., 45.
Flagg, O. B., 371.
Flags:
  British, 155–156.
  Confederate, 171, 249.
  United States, 29, 156.
Forts:
  Ellsworth, 33, 52, 60–61, 74.
  Fisher, 45, 271, 321.
  Lyon, 51, 61–62, 70, 74.
  Monroe, 8.
  Stevens, 301.
  Sumter, 1, 3, 5.
Foote, H. G., 59.
Foster, E. W., 11.
Fox, W. F., 201, 316.
Fradenburgh, J. N., 373.
Franklin, W. B., 42, 44, 52–55, 73, 80, 90, 93, 132–136, 144, 182, 185, 218, 220–221, 223, 290–292.
Frederick, Md., 167–168, 172.
Fremont, J. C., 117.
French, W. H., 127, 182, 221.

Gaines's Mill, 107, 299.
Gardiner, Miss., 280.
Garibaldi Guards, 39.
Getty, G. W., 222, 300.
Gibbon, J., 223, 246, 249.
Gibbs, E. C., 63, 65.
Gibson, W., 13, 80, 107.
Gilmore, J. C., 11, 53, 79–80, 100–102, 206–209, 373.
Gilson, Miss H. L., 281–283.
Goodrich, W. B., 186–187.
Gordon, J. B., 43, 46, 264.
Gouverneur, 11–12.
Grant, A. M., 375.
Grant, C., 375.
Grant, L. A., 136.
Grant, U. S., 149–150, 223, 291, 293–295.
Greek Cross, 301.
Greene, G. S., 187–190.
Griffin, C., 45, 195.
Griffin, Mrs. W. P., 280.
Grigsby House, 42, 159, 264.
Guindon, E. W., 237.

Hall, F. B., 219, 265–267, 371.
Haight, D., 280.
Haile, F. H., 373.
Halleck, H. W., 149–151, 157, 165–166, 168–169, 218, 226, 229, 232, 240, 261.
Hamilton, A., 155.
Hamilton, F., 300.
Hancock, W. S., 221–222, 236, 252, 292–293, 299.
Harper's Ferry, 167, 169, 179, 217.
Harrison's Landing, 142, 152.
Hausen, J., 300.
Havelock, H., 86.
Hawkes, G. P., 161.
Heintzelman, S. P., 41–42, 44, 60, 132–133, 227.
Helms, W. R., 373.
Henry, P., 153.
Hicks, E. F., 123.
Hill, A. P., 127, 179, 183, 217, 256–257.
Hill, D. H., 112, 127, 180, 217, 256.
Home, National D. V. S., 55, 300.
Hone, R. S., 29.
Hood, J. B., 97, 102, 118.
Hooker, J., 112, 115–116, 148, 180, 218, 221–223, 226–232, 234–237, 240–243, 245, 248–257, 260–262.
Hopkins, H., 277–278, 285.
Hopkins, W., 10, 174.
Hopkins, W. R., 146, 300.
Horr, P., 12.
Howard, O. O., 42, 44, 86, 221–222 233, 238, 242.
Howe, A. P., 248.

Howland, J., 24, 31, 34, 58, 60, 71, 72, 89, 92, 94–95, 99–102, 114, 126, 130, 142, 144–146, 170, 200–208, 212, 278, 281, 305–307, 310, 370.
Howland, Mrs. J., 27, 30, 32, 105, 126, 277–281, 283, 285, 305–307, 310.
Howland, Mrs. R. S., 285–286.
Huger, B., 112.
Humphreys, A. A., 251.
Hunt, H. J., 42, 264.
Hunter, D., 41–42.
Hunting Creek, 61.

Jackson, A., 258.
Jackson, N. J., 298.
Jackson, T. J., 46, 117, 119, 127, 135, 137, 167, 239, 252, 257–260.
James, A. B., 18, 20.
James, H. R., 3–5.
Jamestown Colony, 106.
Jefferson, T., 152–154.
Jillson, C. B., 375.
Johnson, Frank, 163.
Johnson, G. L., 375.
Johnson, H. S., 15.
Johnson, R., 244.
Johnston, J. E., 41, 49.
Jones, D. R., 43, 264.
Jones, John Paul, 257–259.
Judd, S. F., 9.
Judson, D. C., 4, 7–8, 54.

Kearny, P., Sr., 162.
Kearny, P., 73, 76, 93, 139, 159–163, 229, 291.
Kelley, J. E., 113.
Kershaw, J. B., 134.
Ketchum, H. H., 375.
Keyes, E. D., 41, 44–45, 111, 132.
Kirkland, Mrs., 276.
Knap, J. M., 181.
Knapp, E. C., 371.
Knapp, F. N., 280.
Knowles, H. L., 10.

Lafayette, General, 155.
Lake Champlain, 4, 8, 14, 16.
Lamb, J. D., 373.
Lamb, W., 46.
Law, E. M., 134.
Lawrence, L., 15.
Lawton, A. R., 118.
Lee, Fitzhugh, 157, 161.
Lee, F. L., 153.
Lee, H., 121.
Lee, R. E., 69, 151, 161, 167, 172, 179–180, 188, 235, 242, 247, 250, 252, 256–257.
Lee, Mrs. R. E., 105.
Lee, R. H., 153–154.
Liberty, Cradle of, 106.
Lincoln, A., 1, 5, 18, 80–81, 144, 166, 172, 200, 205, 226–227, 229–230, 232, 261–262, 317.
Lincoln, B., 155.
Lindsay, Miss M., 17.
Logan, J. A., 44.
Longstreet, J., 46, 112, 127, 160, 179, 183, 217.
Luse, W. H., 265.
Lynde, J. H., 373.

McAtee, F., 194, 211, 299.
McClellan, G. B., 49, 61, 80, 101, 104–105, 108, 110, 117–118, 130, 132, 134, 141, 144, 148–150, 157–158, 164–169, 180, 183–184, 198, 200, 216–218, 223, 225, 262, 291.
McDowell, I., 34, 38, 40–41, 45, 47–50, 60, 90, 93, 110–111, 117.
McFadden, J., 32.
McKelvey, J., 375.
McLaws, L., 179, 247–248, 256.
McLean, Mr., 49.
McMahon, M. T., 135–137, 145, 267, 299.
McMasters, D. S., 15.
McReynolds, A. T., 73.
Madison, J., 152.
Maginn, L. F., 375.
Magone, D., 7.
Magruder, J. B., 132, 134.
Maine Regiments:
5th, 60, 139–140, 159, 170, 304.
6th, 297.
Malone, 8, 17.
Marsh, L. R., 28.
Marsh, S., 20, 22, 57–58, 91–92, 143.
Marshall, J., 152.
Mason, G., Gunston Hall, 48, 65–66.
Mason, G., Spring Bank, 61, 63–64.
Mason, Miss O., 47–48.
Massachusetts Troops:
J. Porter's Battery A, 73, 138.
15th regiment, infantry, 132.

18th regiment infantry, 195.
19th regiment infantry, 220.
20th regiment infantry, 220.
21st regiment infantry, 161.
22nd regiment infantry, 195.
Matthews, R., 373.
Matthews, J. W., 372.
Meade, Bishop, 67.
Meade, G. G., 228, 233–234, 241–242, 254.
Meagher, F., 127, 132, 135.
Mechanicsville, 106.
Medical Department, 274, 276, 320.
Medal of Honor, 320–321.
Merriam, E. N., 4.
Merritt, E. A., 10.
Michigan Troops:
4th infantry, 195.
7th infantry, 220.
Miles, D. S., 34–35, 42, 211.
Millar, A. M., 83–85, 211.
Miller, L. M., 28.
Moffitt, J. H., 372.
Mississippi Troops:
17th infantry, 43, 264.
18th infantry, 43, 264–265.
Monroe, J., 152.
Montgomery, Ala., 1.
Mooers, B., 14.
Mooers, J. H., 24, 370.
Mooney, J., 39–40.
Moore, P., 14–15, 305, 372.
Morell, G. W., 184.
Morgan, E. D., 2, 9, 19, 29, 55, 147, 205–206, 210.
Mortally Wounded, 286.
Morris, W. H., 372.
Mount Vernon, 34.
Mummery, F., 97–98.
Munson, C. N., 372.
Murphy, C. C., 371.
Myers, C. G., 9, 18–19.
Myers, G. R., 18.

Naglee, B. N., 119.
Nevin, D. A., 4, 80.
New Jersey Troops:
W. Hexamer's Battery A, 73, 99, 138, 143.
1st infantry, 73, 170, 291.
2nd infantry, 73, 170, 291.
3rd infantry, 73, 170, 291.
4th infantry, 73, 170, 291.
Newport News, 156.
Newton, J., 70, 76, 97, 120, 247, 292.
New York Troops:
Batteries:
T. W. Osborn's D, 1st Regiment, 11, 116, 133–134, 140.
W. R. Wilson's F, 1st regiment, 73, 100.
G. W. Cothran's M, 1st regiment, 181.
W. M. Bramhall's 6th Independent, 133.
Cavalry:
1st regiment, 73, 106.
6th regiment, 233, 244.
Infantry regiments:
5th, 301, 315.
12th, 59.
13th, 59.
16th, 18, 34–35, 38, 44, 57, 59–60, 81, 88, 103, 113, 115–116, 120, 127, 131, 134, 138, 155, 158, 169–170, 174, 176, 186, 192, 205, 219, 263, 265, 278, 281, 290, 300–304, 307, 315–316, Roster of 16th, 322–361.
18th, 5, 33, 38, 170.
21st, 59.
26th, 59, 60, 71–72, 82.
27th, 59, 60, 106, 138, 170, 304.
28th, 28.
31st, 33, 73, 130, 194, 211, 298.
32nd, 33, 73, 170.
34th, 24, 113, 186.
49th, 297.
51st, 183.
59th, 33, 186.
60th, 186–189.
65th, 297.
78th, 188.
89th, 221.
92nd, 113.
96th, 113.
98th, 113.
102nd, 188.
106th, 147, 290.
118th, 25, 370.
120th, 278.
121st, 302.
137th, 188.
142nd, 81, 163, 214.
149th, 188.
Noble, A., 372.
North Carolina Troops:
6th infantry regiment, 45.
20th infantry regiment, 120–122.

Ogdensburg, 3, 7, 147, 181, 297.
O'Leary, C., 229, 300.
Olmstead, F. L., 280.
Ord, J. G., 98.
Osborn, T. W., 115–116, 133–134, 140, 239, 243.
Osborne, S. C., 289.

Palmer, F., 14, 80, 145, 206–207, 209, 265, 372.
Palmer, W., 15.
Parker, Mrs. C. A., 12.
Parker, G., 12, 80, 92–93, 171, 215, 372.
Parmelee, A. B., 17.
Paxton, E. F., 257.
Pennsylvania Troops:
  Batteries:
    J. M. Knap's E, 181.
    R. B. Hampton's F, 181.
  Cavalry regiments:
    8th, 233.
    17th, 233.
  Infantry regiments:
    51st, 183.
    95th, 73.
    96th, 82, 107, 170.
    118th, 195.
Pickett, G. E., 188.
Platt, E. R., 73, 99, 300.
Plattsburgh, 8, 14, 16, 20, 265.
Pleasant Valley, 178.
Pleasonton, A., 183, 195, 233, 235, 238, 243, 250, 256.
Pocahontas, 107.
Pohick Church, 65–69.
Pomeroy, J. M., 10–11, 80, 371.
Pope, J., 150, 157, 161, 164, 166–167, 232
Porter, A., 41–42.
Porter, D. D., 46.
Porter, F. J., 105, 118–119, 126–127.
Porter, H., 259.
Porter, J., 73, 138.
Pratt, C. E., 130, 298–299.
Presentiments, 96, 269, 271.
Proctor, R., 137, 298.

Quakers, 62–65, 67.
Quill, D., 373.

Raleigh Tavern, 153.
Randolph, G. E., 138.
Rathbone, J. F., 9, 21, 25.
Raymond, H. H., 11.
Read, J. M., 9, 22.
Reed, W. H., 282.
Red Cross, 288.
Republic, Cradle of, 106.
Resting Soldiers, 192.
Reviews, 29, 61, 80–81, 218, 228, 240.
Reynolds, J. F., 228, 240, 242, 246.
Rhode Island Battery E, 138.
Richardson, I. B., 40–43, 45–46, 135.
Robertson, J., 69, 283, 285.
Rodden, J. B., 44.
Roosevelt, T., 259.
Rosecrans, W. S., 293.
Roster of 16th New York, 322–361.
Rouse Point, 4, 8, 14.
Russell, D. A., 297.

Sackrider, N., 4.
Sailly, F. L. C., 15.
Saint Lawrence University, 77, 190, 375.
Sanitary Commission, 276, 281, 288.
Schenck, R. C., 42.
Scofield, J. K., 99, 300.
Scott, W., 56, 277.
Seaver, J. J., 8, 17, 79–80, 83, 114, 142, 145, 170, 202, 206–211, 263–264, 309–310, 312, 375.
Sedgwick, J., 111, 228, 235, 245–246, 248, 254, 256, 281, 296, 303.
Semmes, P. J., 134.
Service, H. H., 371.
Seymour, H., 308–309.
Seymour, T., 180.
Shakespeare, 272.
Shaler, A., 297.
Shannon, R. C., 159–160.
Sharp, Miss C., 12.
Sharpsburg, 179, 183.
Shaw, D., 13.
Sheridan, P. H., 296.
Sherman, S. N., 9, 19–21, 24.
Sherman, W. T., 42, 44.
Sickles, D. S., 228, 238–239, 241–242, 253.
Sigel, F., 228.
Sitgreaves, L., 25.
Slocum, H. W., 19, 44, 55, 71–72, 76, 80, 93, 105, 107, 109, 119, 127, 138, 144, 146–147, 157, 182, 202, 205–206, 228, 233–238, 251, 291–292.
Smith, J., 106.

Smith, W. F., 105, 132, 135, 137, 215, 218, 223, 228, 290–296.
Snyder, J. H., 23.
Soldier, Efficient Age of, 317.
Soldier, Equipments of, 231.
Soldier, Qualities of, 77–78, 316–317.
South Carolina, Fifth Regiment of, 43, 264.
Spencer, J. C., 7.
Spencer, J. M., 12.
Spencer, J. M., Jr., 371.
Split Timber, 91.
Stannard, G. J., 298.
Stanton, E. M., 110, 144, 226, 261.
Sterne, L., 86.
Stetson, J. L., 8, 15, 33, 75, 196, 373.
Stetson, L., 15.
Stevens, G. T., 133, 300.
Stockholm, 13.
Stone, C. R., 199.
Stone, R. G., 15.
Stoneman, G., 106, 228, 230.
Stratton, R. B., 29, 83.
Straw Hats, 114, 123, 131, 138.
Strong, Mrs. G. T., 280.
Sturdevant, S. H., 182, 196, 300.
Sumner, E. V., 111, 132–134, 218, 222.
Sykes, G., 120, 168, 184, 236, 252.

Tabernacle Church, 236, 250.
Tall men, 10, 90, 317.
Tapley, F. C., 25, 42–43, 114.
Tappan, C. O., 10.
Taylor, G. W., 120, 157.
Taylor, Z., 20.
Terry, A. H., 45–46.
Texas Troops:
  Hood's Brigade, 97, 102,
  Fourth regiment, 102–103.
Thanksgiving Day, 82, 87, 219.
Thatcher, G. H., 9.
Thomas, G. H., 292, 295.
Thompkins, C. H., 300.
Thompkins, D. D., 28.
Thompson, J. S., 14.
Tio, M., 373.
Torbert, A. T. A., 296.
Thornton, J. B. T., 48.
Tolles, C. W., 300.
Townsend, F., 18.
Tripler, C. S., 288.
Turner's Pass, 168–169, 182.
Trussell, N. L., 375.
Tuttle, Miss H., 7.
Tyler, D., 40–42.

Under Fire, 268–273.
United States Artillery:
  Ayres, R. B., E, Third, 41.
  Carlisle, J. H., E, Second, 41.
  De Russy, G. A., K, Fourth, 138.
  Edwards, J., G, First, 42, L–M, Third, 120–121, 264.
  Gibson, H. G., C, Third, 183.
  Griffin, C., D, Fifth, 45.
  Hains, P. C., M, Second, 183.
  Hunt, H. J., M, Second, 42.
  Hazzard, G. W., C, Fourth, 135.
  Platt, E. R., D, Second, 73, 99.
  Ricketts, J. B., I, First, 45.
  Robertson, J. M., B, Second, 183.
  Tidball, A, Second, 183.
  Upton, E., D, Second, 138, 296.
Utter, H. B., 371.

Van Buren, P., 163.
Van Rensselaer, H., 277.
Vedder, S. C., 23, 374.
Vermont Brigade, 136, 300.
  3rd regiment, 298.
  5th regiment, 298.
  15th regiment, 298.

Wadhams, E. P., 23.
Wadsworth, J. S., 245.
Walling, W. H., 12, 88, 171, 175, 198–199, 372.
Ware, R., 280.
Warren, G. K., 236, 252.
Washington City, 32, 37, 54, 74, 87, 167–168, 184, 226–227.
Washington, G., 2, 65–67, 105, 152, 154–155.
Wead, F. F., 71, 146, 375.
Weed, T., 27.
Wheeler, W. A., 8, 17, 55, 147, 210.
Wheelock, G., 280.
Whetten, Miss H. D., 280.
Whipple, A. W., 257.
Whiskey Ration, 71.
Whitehall, 4, 8, 14, 16.
White Oak Church, 219, 302, 307.
Whiting, W. H. C., 45–46, 102, 112.
Willcox, O. B., 41–42, 44, 218.
Williamsburg, 152.
Wilmington, N.C., 46.
Wilson, J. H., 293, 296.
Wilson, R., 155.
Wilson, R. P., 72, 155, 206–207, 305.
Wilson Small, The, 280–281.

Winslow, G. B., 115, 239, 243.
Winslow, J. H., 213–214.
Wisconsin Troops:
  5th infantry, 298.
  43rd infantry, 298.
Woolsey, Mrs. C. W., 32, 35–37, 278, 285, 287.
Woolsey, Miss G. M., 35, 37, 277, 280.
Wood, W. W., 16, 34, 80, 107.
Wool, J. E., 7.
Wormeley, Miss K. P., 276, 280–281.
Wright, H. G., 296.
Wright, S., 7.
Wythe, G., 153.

Yorktown, 95, 154–155.

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